A BRIEF ACCOUNT of His Sacred Majestie's DESCENT In a true Line MALE, From KING ETHODIUS THE FIRST,

VVho began to Reign *Anno Christi*, 162.

Written in a Letter to a Friend, Anno 1681.

Sæpè tibi Pater est, sæpè legendus avus.

EDINBURGH,
Printed by the Heirs of *Andrew Anderson*, Printer to His most Sacred *MAJESTY*, Anno *Dom.* M. DC. LXXXI.

The Printer to the Reader.

I Need not, Courteous Reader, tell you, that this was wrote before the last English Parliament sat, for the Paper doth so much it self: Let it suffice, that I now send it abroad, if not for thy satisfaction, at least I hope for thy diversion: use it candidly, censure it favourably, judge of it charitably, and Farewell.

ERRATA.

In the 8 Page, Line 33 *read* pleas'd; l. 38. r. Revis'd; Page 13 l. 19. r. continued; l. 16. r. collaterals; l. 17 close the parenthesis at Nations) P. 13 l. 40. r. Epithetal; p. 14 l. 36. r. *Carantius*; P. 16 l. 17. r. the greater; p. 21 l. 1. r. enduring; p. 23. l. 21. r. menacing; l. 23. r. tenes; l. 46 r. *Kyth*; p. 24 l. 31. r. Collars; l. 32. r. Nemo *impune lacessit*; l. 50. r. the Fable; p. 31 l. 17. *subjoin to the word Tree*, corresponding to the Lines on the Dexter, *which are misplaced*; l. 27. r. Proavus; l. 34. r. Avoque; P. 32 l. 3. r. *glorying*; l. 5. r. qui; p. 34 in the last Distich, *read* Po. at the Pentameter.

Edinburgh, 18th. *of* March, 1681.

SIR,

THat Buſineſs of Secluding *His Royal Highneſs* from the Imperial CROWN of *England*, is a matter of ſo high concern to this our *Britiſh* world, yea, and in its example to the larger Continent; And being the repeated deſires of the *Commons* in ſome ſucceſsive Parliaments, it may be thought too great a boldneſs, for any ſingle man on this ſide *Tweed*, to concern himſelf therewith. But under favour, as all the Subjects in the three Kingdoms, will or may, ſome one way or other, be intereſſed in the Effects and Sequel of this Affair; ſo it is hoped, that none can juſtly blame any, who is a Subject to the *Monarch* of *Great Britain*, modeſtly to endeavour the ſatisfaction of his Reaſon, Judgement, and Conſcience, in this ſo great a Reſolve; Eſpecially when it was but a hatching, and under deliberation. And though once haſtily paſſed the Vote of the *Commons*: never yet agreed unto by the *Peers*, and by His *Majeſtie*'s Prorogations taken altogether off the File: And now that a new Parliament is within a day or two, to ſit at *Oxford*, which conſiſting moſtly of the ſame Members, perhaps it may be feared, they will bring with them the ſame minds, and fall again upon the Succeſsion, though it is to be wiſhed by all good and peaceable men, that they would ſtudy ſo far to comply with His *Majeſtie*'s Propoſals, as not to irritat Him to any further Prorogations or Diſſolutions.

Allow me then freely Sir, to propoſe to you, my weak thoughts upon this ſo tender a point, equally important to the quiet of His *Majeſties* Kingdoms, and the duty of His Subjects, that I may from your better judgement be either fortified in my grounds, or reſolved of my doubts and queſtions. *Firſt* then, as in all Caſes of this nature (for the better avoiding of needleſs wranglings hereafter) let the Queſtion be fairely ſtated, which I humbly conceive may be thus: Whether or not a Prince, of a Religion differing from that by the Laws of the Land eſtabliſhed (be he Popiſh, Heretick, or Idolater) may lawfully (conform to the Principles, and Precepts of our Reformed Proteſtant Profeſsion) by the people or their Repreſentatives in Parliament, whereunto even at laſt the *King* ſhould be induced to conſent, be (I ſay) lawfully ſecluded from His Birthright and Inheritance? where I underſtand the term *Lawfully* as conſonant to the true Rules of Juſtice and Equity, and not as an act of a Legiſlative power only.

I ſtick not here then upon that Cob-web'd limitation of Birthright, to him only that firſt openeth the womb; and as little upon that quibling Diſtinction of Heirs Preſumptive and Apparent, ſeing the Law ſayes, *Hæreditas non tantum ad proximum hæredem, ſed ad ulteriores defertur*: And if his *Highneſs* be not in the Caſe, the next Heir, why are the *Commons* ſo preſsing for his Secluſion? And as none, I hope, will deny his Title

Blood, ſo as little need I to prove, that the Imperial CROWN of *England* is an Hereditary *Crown*, which deſcends to the lawfull Succeſſors, by all Laws and Rights of Nature, Nations, and the Land, as their undoubted Birthright and juſt Inheritance, without exception of, or relation to Sex, Age, Qualification, Limitation or Reſtriction whatſomever. So you will yield me (I hope) that the next appparent Heir of ſuch an Hereditary *Crown*, hath at leaſt *Spem Succedendi*, which is to him *Jus quoddam*, as in all other Heritages.

So then, this Seclusion being *Exhæredatio*, it falls to be conſidered, what is neceſſarily required before ſuch a diſinheriting can be in my ſence *Lawfull*. And I hope you will grant, that *Omnis Exhæredans debet habere Exhæredatum ſua in Poteſtate*. I know there be who would thirle this Theoreme to the *Patria Poteſtas* only, which yet from the deductions of clear ſenſe and reaſon, muſt be equally extenſive to all who challenge a juſt power and right to Diſinherit. And I ſuppoſe I need not here demur upon that diſtinction, betwixt a naked and ſupine Preterition, and an active and formal Excluſion. And ſo will next come to be conſidered, How far the apparent Heir of an Hereditary *Crown*, is under the power of the People or Parliament, in order to the Diſinheriting him from the *Crown* of his Anceſtors, due unto him by his right of Blood; for we are not here in *Regno conſtituendo*, but in *Regno hæreditario jamdudum legitimè conſtituto*.

Then I ſay, that the apparent Heir of ſuch an Hereditary CROWN, cannot be Diſinherited by the People or Parliament: becauſe that Power which can Diſinherit, can alſo make and conſtitute. For, *Qui poteſt hæredem præterire aut exhæredare, poteſt etiam hæredem ſibi inſtituere*. And ſhould the People, Commons, or Parliament, be but once gratified in this Point, it is to be feared, they might be tempted to aſſume to themſelves other things.

So that here the *Commons* cannot *Exhæredare*, becauſe that were well nigh to give the People a Power to make and unmake Kings at their pleaſure, and ſo unſenſibly unhinge the Hereditary *Monarchy*, that it would at laſt lodge the Supremacy in the *Populace*.

And though the *Commons* ſhould in a forward zeal, haſtily paſs ſuch a Vote, yet the *Peers* could not agree to it; becauſe at the *CORONATION* of the KING, in their Oath of *Homage* and *Fealty*, they ſwear to be faithful and true to the Crowned *King*, and His Heirs Kings of *England*: yea not only the Peers, but all the Feudataries in the Realm, who hold their Land of the *Crown* in *Capite*, are by the nature of their Inveſtitures tyed to this *Fealty*, whether the Oath be formally adminiſtred or not: and whereof the firſt indiſpenſible branch is by the Lawyers worded, *quod fidelis Domino ſuo & Hæredibus ejus erit in perpetuum*. How then can any Peer who was preſent at the *CORONATION*, or yet any Feudatary, who holds his Eſtate in *Capite* of the *Crown*, by a free and voluntary act of his own, vote the Diſinheriting and Secluding of the righteous Heir, and undoubted Succeſſor? For queſtionleſs this Fealty, maugre all the Alphabetical niceties of *Domino vero meo*, &c. ſtands from the Obligations of

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Gratitude, beyond all Equivocation, conſcientiouſly binding to the Succeſſors of blood in all the Negative tyes, though the duties to the preſent Superior be ſtronger in the Poſitives.

Neither could His *Majeſty* paſſe, or give conſent to ſuch an act, Becauſe by His *Coronation-Oath*, He ſwears to maintain the Subject in His Right, Liberty, and Property. And ſince his *Highneſs* is His *Majeſties* Subject (though one of His Greateſt & Nobleſt Subjects) and that as an apparent Heir, he hath *Spem ſuccedendi*, and that the CROWN is an ancient Hereditary *Crown:* The KING cannot take away His only Brothers *Spem ſuccedendi*, Becauſe it is by blood, his undoubted right, from the unalterable Law of Nature, ratified by the Law of Nations and ſecured by the Law of the Land, and nature of the *Crown*, which is Hereditary, and which fixes it beyond the fears of being altered by either *King* or *Parliament* from that Paradoxical *State-immortalitie* of an Hereditary Monarch. And if an Act of *Parliament* can alter the Succeſſion, by excluding or paſsing by the righteous Heir; dare I ask if an Act of *Parliament* could clip the Commons in their *Magna Carta*, could but the King and Peers fall upon a packed *Rump*, or a *Marvellous Parliament* that could *work wonders*, though under the Epithet of *Indoctum* or *Inſanum*.

Yea, ſhould the King, Peers, and Commons agree, to paſſe ſuch a Bill in Act, yet would ſuch an act of Seclusion, be but in it ſelf void and null, Becauſe it would be *contra jus Coronæ* that great Law, which virtually and Originally, is a parcel of the Law of the Land, and that part of their Common Law, which hath the precedence of all Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*. And if *omnis actus Parliamenti, vel conſuetudo Regni; quæ ſe exaltet in Prærogativam Regis*, be ſaid to be void in Law, how binding will an Act of Seclusion be, which ſtrikes not only againſt the Right and Prerogative, but undermines the very Nature and Beeing of an Hereditary *Crown*.

And as for his *Highneſs* being of a different *Religion*, and the great noiſe rais'd upon that. *Firſt*, To differ in perſwaſions of Religion, while men retain the general name of *Chriſtian*, does not make up a Crime, Meritorious of Seclusion. *Secondly*, Religion it ſelf, under whatever notion, is neither eſſentially conſtitutive, or indiſpenſibly ſecluſive of Magiſtracy, where the Royalty is Supreame, and Hereditary. For, ſhould an apparent Heir be diſinherited by a *Proteſtant* Parliament, for being a *Papiſt*, why not a *Prelatick* heir by a *Presbyterian* Parliament? And why not a *Presbyterian* by an *Independant*, an *Independant* by an *Anabaptiſt*, and he by a *Quaker*, and ſo on. Is not this not only to found Dominion in Grace, but even Property and heritage, in Grace. For an Hereditary Crown, is by Birthright ſo far the Succeſſors property & heritage, as that by all laws, he lawfully Succeeds to the ſame *Jure ſanguinis et hæreditario*, in right of his Progenitors. And if a Prince may be thus Secluded from his Inheritance, for difference of Religion, why ſhould not the ſame be extended to all others, who claim any Heritage by right of Blood from their Predeceſſors? For, *ubi eadem ratio, ibi idem jus*, and ſo a Popiſh Son ſhould not ſucceed to his Proteſtant Fathers Eſtate: *& ſic de cæteris*. And it would be ſeriouſly conſidered, what a door this opens to the Papiſts, for that principle of depoſing and diſinheriting of Heretical Kings. And I ſuſpect the Doctrinal

ference betwixt Secluding and Deposing in this present Case in hand, is but too Metaphysical for sound Christian Politicks, and all the Arguments that ever I yet heard, for that way of disinheriting, by an Act of Seclusion, were all but *ab incommodo*, inconveniencies, jealousies and fears; which I fear can never justifie Protestant Subjects, to take away the Birthright from their lawful and Hereditary Prince.

For, as Magistracy is an Emanation of Gods power, as Creator, who is thereby pleased to Govern and preserve the World from Confusion. The difference of Religion does not nullifie his Office, as by our *Confession of Faith* is justly acknowledged: so Inheritance being a Gift of Gods bounty and providence from him as Almighty, and as he manifests his Dispensations, or as the Schoolmen phrase it, as he is pleased to act *in Regno Naturæ*; difference in Religion (I say) does not hinder either wicked or Heretical persons or Kings, to inherit their Estates, Civil Powers, Dignities, and Hereditary Crowns, because Religion stands listed under the Collours of *Regnum Gratiæ*, whose Laws are not destructive to the Laws of Nature and Nations, according to the trit saying *jus Gratiæ non tollit jus Naturæ vel Gentium*. So let us not, for the securing of our Kingdoms, from fears of dubious events, presume to confound the diversified (though fixed) methods used, or offer to remove the Land-marks set, by *Jehovah Zebaoth*, in the managing of his Kingdoms of Nature and grace.

For I do a little doubt, if too forward a zeal for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, or of any Religion that flows from *Christ* the Son, as Saviour and Mediator, will justifie the taking away from our Prince and Neighbour, that which by the Laws of Nature, Nations and the Land, he hath gotten bestowed upon him, by the bounty, favour, and providence of *God* the Father, as Creator and Preserver of the Univerese, and the great and eternally loving Benefactor to mankind.

And will it not be a harsh reflection upon the Protestant Religion, that it cannot be secured, unless its Professors run into the same ways so much by themselves condemned in some of the Papists. For I look upon the disinheriting of the Apparent Heir, as much of kin to their Deposing of Kings not of their own perswasion. And believe me the Birthright and Blood of Princes stand not many steps distant; and we have an ordinary saying, *who takes away my livelyhood, takes away my life*. And if the Birthright of an hereditary Prince, be not his livelyhood, sure it is his honour, and the honour of a Prince is the life of a Prince.

And the Protestant Religion will be driven to a hard pull, if we cannot keep it but by breaking some of the Rules and Precepts of it, and away with that *ex duobus malis, &c.* where the Election is allowed only *in malis Pœnæ*, but can in no Christianity be extended *ad mala Peccati*. For says not *Paul, We should not do evil that good may come of it*. And if it be an evil, or injury to take from a man his Birthright, why should that injury be done to *His Royal Highness*, seing it is said by Divines that *injuriam homini etiam sceleſtisſimo facere, nemo ſine peccato poteſt*. And should the people in their Representatives, be but once authorized to Seclude an hereditary Prince from his Royal Office and Dignity, it might be feared, they would itch

itch to do the like, to the function and very foundations of Government it self: a near and recent parallel instance whereof, we have fresher in our memories then it needs to be named.

And to represent to His *Majesty*, that there is no securing of the Protestant Religion, except he condescend to the Seclusion of His only *Brother*, seems *first*, to be a strnage limitation of the *Holy one of* Israel; For, what if his *Highness* should quit his perswasion? or what if His *Majesty* should Survive? *secondly*, Does not this look too like a prescribing unto the prudence of other Parliaments: For what if subsequent Parliaments might fall upon smoother and calmer Methods for equally securing of Religion as Protestants, and salving of their duty as Subjects, to the equal Satisfaction of the Christian World, and their own Consciences. *Thirdly*, Shall the positive advice be *no other way*, and why the advice, and why so positive? Be there not many Members in the *Commons House*, who are Feudataries of the *Crown*, and being honoured in their Parliamentary capacities, to give Council to the King *in arduis Regni*, are they not by their Feudal fealty to advise their Lord *Paramount* to nothing but what is *honestum*. For this is one of the six by a Homager required, that when admitted to the consults of his Master, *ut quæ Domino honesta sunt consulat*. Say now then, and say ingenuously, will the expecting World, or after Ages say, that it is *honestum* for *Charles* to Seclude and Disinherit *James*, his only Brother, and in the case of Survivage, the only Son of *Charles* the *Martyr*, yea the only Heir Male of the Illustrious Royal *Line* aftermentioned? or by disinterested or unbyassed persons, will it be judg'd altogether *honestum*, for Feudatory Subjects, again and again, to press the advice of Secluding such an Heir, especially in a fortuitous event, which may be, or may not be?

I need not I hope tell you Sir, that though here I urge some Arguments from the Feudal Law (pressing enough I conceive upon Vassals who are not willing to hazard a Disclamation of their Honours and property) yet you know I look not upon Monarchy (as betwixt Prince and People) to be within the verge of Feudal Contracts, knowing Kingdoms to be *extra commercium*, holding only of the *King* of *Kings*.

But if ever it should please God, in his All-wise-dispensations, to suffer the Crown to descend to a *Popish Successor*, I put the Query, Whether it be more consonant for Protestant Christians to submit to the Almightie's secret will, and bewail our condition, laying our mouths in the dust, while we examine whether or not the abuse of the Protestant Religion in this Isle, making a mask thereof, and alledging grounds therefrom, for rebelling against the best of Princes, might not in some measure have provoked God to suffer a *Popish Successor*, (which yet whatever be his private opinions I do not here charge upon his Highness,) seing the late unnatural Rebellion, drove his pious Father to that necessity, that he was not able to keep nor maintain His Family, or educat His Children as he would. And belyke earnest supplications to God (in whose hands are the hearts of Princes, to turn them whithersoever he listeth) under an humble sence thereof, might be more Christian, and consisting with the Principles of the Protestant perswasion, then a wilful Secluding and disinheriting of him. And whatever may fall out in matter of fact, or what people has done in such cases (for I am only here upon the point of

right) ſure it was a good obſerve that was given upon *Joſiah*, that God did in him, bleſſe the Jewiſh nation , with one of the beſt of their Kings, becauſe they rebelled not againſt, nor did caſt off his wicked Predeceſſors *Amon* and *Manaſſeh*.

I know the *Engliſh* have ready at hand, to inſtance and urge their late *Marian Perſecution*, with the miſerable, bloody, and diſmal ſeverities thereof, which I can much eaſier regrate then juſtifie or excuſe. Yet might I, in behalf of a miſled zeale (ordinary to the weaker ſex) be but indulged to repreſent, that thoſe times and ours will hardly in all things run parallel. I could Suggeſt, that *Hendrie* the eigth, having departed from the Church of *Rome*, he quitted the ſtage of the World, before the Proteſtant Profeſsion was in his Kingdoms well ſettled by Law. And his Son *Edward* the ſixth ſucceeding young, when moſt of the Nobility, and many of the Nation ſtood Popiſhly affected ; the matter of Religion came not in his ſhort Reign to be ſo legally adjuſted. So methinks (without offence) I might even out of compaſsion to a Fœminine frailty (ſtill zealous for their own opinions) wink a little at ſome ſhadow of extenuation, in favours of *Mary* , from the then ſtanding and unrepealed Statutes. But now that it hath pleaſed God, under the happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Proteſtant Succeſſors, to ſtrengthen that Profeſsion by all juſt and Legal conſolidations. Little I ſhould hope may now be feared of alteration from his *Highneſs* (ſhould he even ſucceed in a Popiſh perſwaſion) ſince his juſtice is ſo notour the World over, that (where he is not pick'd below the Grandeur of His Birth) he glories to be an example of Obedience to the Laws of the Land , and whoſe intereſt certainly it will prove not to diſturbe them : and who from a tenderneſs of conſcience freely allows his Children to be educat, and his Family exerciſed in the Proteſtant Profeſsion, as by the Laws and Church of *England* eſtabliſhed and injoyned. And who, beſides his perſonal Character, and innate moderation ſtands a little ingaged, in favours of His Race and Anceſtors, not to forget the Hiſtorians obſerve, that *Stuartorum Genus*, was *Lene & temperatum. Let us then be afraid to refuſe the watters of* Schiolah, *that go ſoftlie leaſt the* Lord *be tempted, and bring upon us the waters of the River, ſtrong and many, even with the King of* Aſſyria, *in all his glory. Nay, rather let us betimes ſend ſome of our humors and opinions to be waſht at the Pool of* Siloam, *that ſo ſeing our miſtakes, we may ſtudie to build and cover the walls thereof, even to to the Stairs that go down to the Citie of our* David, *nigh to the Kings* Garden, *then thus fooliſhlie to fancie any ſolid rejoicing in ſome popular* Rezius *or* Remalialis *ſones.*

But ſuppoſe the worſt, that a jealous and fearful fancy can ſuggeſt, I would gladly ask the *directors of our conſciences*, if it be lawful for Subjects in whatever capacity to reject or refuſe their Native and undoubted Prince, for fear of Perſecution under His Government , ſeing God hath gained as much Glory in the perſeverance and Martyrdom of His Saints as in any ſtate of the Church Militant whatſomever : And though the dayes of Perſecution be hot, ſad, and lamentable trials, yet ſhould Chriſtians hazard upon an act of injuſtice to avoid them when they lie but ſuppoſedly lurking under the remoter skirts of jealouſies and feares , which depend upon more uncertain events.

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Thir few grounds (Sir) with other reasons too large for a Letter, do hitherto sufficiently convince me of the justice of the *Peers*, in their rejecting the Bill of Seclusion. Not that I desire any wayes to reflect upon the Honourable Members of the Commons, who might have gone upon grounds I know not. Thir my reasons and doubts, I only propose for my own satisfaction, *Veri investigandi causa*, and I hope the *Commons* will grant, that Parliaments may erre, and that zeal sometimes may prompt even good men to outrun their duty. And it were worth the while seriously to consider, how far a Seclusion of this nature, may be thought to participate of, or dip upon the dangerous Principles of *Buchanan*, *Brutus* his *Vindiciæ*, *Boucherus*, *Rutherford's* Lex Rex, *Nephali*, and the *Jus Populi vindicatum*.

And which makes me still the more admire His Majesties Justice, Piety and Prudence, in His Proposals by His *Chancellor*, to one of His late Parliaments, is, that granting the Act of Seclusion should passe, what further security can our Protestant Religion be in, by such an Act, then by the Proposals made by the King? Nay, surely in a worse condition, from a Successour irritated by an Act of Exclusion, which for my Reasons aforesaid, is but void in Law, and so explained in all emergent Cases of that nature. For can an Act of Parliament, Secluding JAMES of *York* from the *Crown*, because a *Papist*, be of greater force, then was the Act of *Richard* the 3. against *Henry* of *Richmount*, then attainted of Treason? Not here to speak of the Acts concerning the drumbly succession of *Henry* the 8. And me fears the renewing the Bill of Seclusion, will by some be thought hardly well to consist in all things, with the Oath of *Supremacie*: For if the King be the Supreame Judge, in all Causes and over all Persons, and that his Judgement hath been once and again tryed, and his sentiments sufficiently known in this matter of Secluding his Brother from the Crown, to provoke His Majesty to give his judgment therein again *Super iisdem deductis*, may by some I fay be thought too like a tacit declining of the Kings Supremacy. For what *Parliament* judge will readily alter his sentence upon a Reclamation *Super iisdem deductis*? and considering the present posture of affairs in *Europe*, were it not as much for the true interest of the Protestant Religion, that the Parliament should here wave the point of Succession, and fall cordially to consider, and vigorously to comply with His *Majesties* Proposals (trusting God with the event of the two Royal Brothers survivage) then by too obstinately stickling upon so near and dear a concern to the King, lose so many fair opportunities of doing much good to Religion, King and Kingdoms.

And believe me (Sir) I write not thir things as being either Popish or Popishly affected, but sincerely from the Observations I have taken up of Christianity in its primitive Latitude, before it came to be ranked and rended by an Act of *Classis*. And needs must I confess, that my zeal participats not so much of the Son of *Zebedeus* fire, but that I can have charity to think there be many who have given up their names to the Church of *Rome*, that do not yet believe all the Idolatrous fopperies either practised in, or charged upon her, although I can so far regrate the growth and increase of Popery, that for the surer instructing of the Vulgar, I do heartily wish the old and solid way of *Catechetical* teaching were more constantly plyed and revived. For the running of a glass upon a desultatory Text, cannot much confirm them and as little does a *Polemical* discourse edifie an apron'd auditory. Hence take the

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subtile *Jesuits* (I fear) too great advantage, under their party-coloured Vizorns to inveigle, deceive, and even to Rebellions debauch, the giddy, unstable, and not well grounded Plebeians. I speak not this any way to reflect upon the Reverend Clergy, but if the Fathers of the *Church* think fit more seriously to recommend to the Incumbents the *Catechetical* way, for their evening exercise, it might (perhaps) in this juncto be of good use to establish the Comonality in the sound grounds of true Christianity.

But to return, let me tell you, His *Majestie* hath but reason by all just and fair means to defend the *Crown*, in the true and righteous Heir Male, if he but either remember or consider, that He and His Royal Brother, are by the blessing and Providence of Almighty God, descended of most Royal Blood, in a true Line Male, lawfully from Father to Son (Kings, or Princely Cadets) for beyond fifteen entire Centuries. But, let me not be mistaken, For I am not to say that all His Majesties Progenitors were in this account Kings, but that they were all by Agnation Cadets and Descendants of the Royal Family, I hope to evince. For as to His descent from King *Fergus* the first, by some interposition of Daughters, the same is clear, obvious, and beyond contradiction, sufficiently by our Historians and others already established. But here my assertion is repeated, that His Sacred Majesty, and His Royal Brother are lawfully descended from King *Ethodius* the first, and that by Princes or Princely Descendants in a true Line Male, from Father to Son, as I have already expressed it.

You know then (Sir) that *Ethodius* the first of that Name, and twenty fifth King of SCOTLAND, was Sisters Son to King *Mogallus*, and Succeeded to His Cousin King *Conarus*, about the year of our Saviour 162. when the two Collegiat *Antonin's Philosophus & Verus* govern'd the *Roman* Impire. So shall I mark *Ethodius*, and his Succession as followeth, giving the letter K. for King, with the figures to show what number the persons so marked stood in, and to avoid repetitions of Father and Son, be pleased to understand that where the same is not so nominated, the person overhead is still Father to him who is placed next immediately below.

Tritavi 7. Proavus.	46	1	*Ethodius* the 1. K. 25.
	45	2	*Ethodius* the 2. K. 28.
	44	3	*Athirco*, K. 29.
Tritavus 7.	43	4	*Donald* the 2, and 3. Son to *Athirco* K. 32.
	42	5	*Fincormachus*, K. 35.
	41	6	*Ethodius* or *Achadius*, second Son to *Fincormachus*.
	40	7	*Erthus*, who with his Father expulsed by the Romans died uncrowned in *Denmark*.
	39	8	*Fergus* the 2. K. 40.
	38	9	*Dongardus*, second Son to *Fergus* the 2. K. 42.
Tritavus 6.	37	10	*Conranus*, second Son to *Dongardus* K. 45.
	36	11	*Aidanus*, K. 49.
	35	12	*Eugenius* the 4. K. 51.
	34	13	*Donald* the 4. second Son to *Eugenius* the 4. K. 53.
	33	14	*Dongardus*, second Son to *Donald* the 4.
	32	15	*Eugenius* the 5. K. 56.
Tritavus 5.	31	16	*Eugenius* the 7. K. 59.
	30	17	*Ethfinus*, K. 61.
	29	18	*Achaius*, K. 65.
	28	19	*Alpinus*, K. 68.
	27	20	*Kenneth* the 2. K. 69.
	26	21	*Ethus*, second Son to *Kenneth* the 2. K. 72.
Tritavus 4	25	22	*Dorus*, second Son to K. *Ethus*
	24	23	*Murdocus*, second Son to *Dorus*.
	23	24	*Pheachar* or *Ferquhard*, second Son to *Murdocus*.
	22	25	*Kenneth*.
	21	26	*Bancho*, Thane of *Loquhaber*
	20	27	*Fleance*.
Tritavus 3.	19	28	*Walter* the 1. who gave to his Posterity the Sirname of *Stewart*.
	18	29	*Allan* the 1. in the Holy Wars with *Godfroy Bulloigne*.
	17	30	*Walter* the 2. *Magnus sceneſcallus Scotiæ*.
	16	31	*Alexander* the 1. Builder and founder of the Abbacy of *Paisley*.
	15	32	*Allan* the 2.
	14	33	*Walter* the 3. commonly called of *Dundonald*.
Tritavus 2.	13	34	*Robert*, Lord *Turboultown* 2 Son to *Walter* of *Dundonald*
	12	35	*John* Lord *Darnly*.
	11	36	*Robert* Lord *Darnly*.
	10	37	*John* Lord *Darnly*.
	9	38	*Allan* Lord *Darnly*, Married to the Daughter of Duke
	8	39	*Murdoch* Oy to the Earl of *Lennox*.
			John L. *Darnly*, created Earl of *Lennox*, 1482. or thereby.
Tritavus 1.	7	40	*Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, killed at *Flowdon*.
	6	41	*John* Earl of *Lennox*, killed at *Linlithgow*.
	5	42	*Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, Regent to his Oy K. *James*
	4	43	the 6th.
			Henry Lord *Darnly*, Duke of *Rotheſay*.
	3	44	KING *JAMES* the 6. K. 108.
	2	45	KING *CHARLES* the 1. K. 109.
	1	46	KING *CHARLES* the 2. K. 110.
			JAMES, Duke of *Albany* and *York*.

And

And now you see (Sir) my assertion made good by this *Grand Jurie* of His *Majesties* fourty five Progenitors aforenamed, all of them of the Stem, and Line Royal, lawfully descended. And that I may in this Criticall and censorious Age, be as free of mistakes as possible, Suffer me (good Sir) yet once again to repeat what I have formerly insinuat, that I do not here by this Descent-Male intend to obfuscat, or in the least prejudge or diminish His Sacred Majesty of his contingency of blood and cognation to all, or any of His hundred and nine Crowned Predecessors, in either their streight descendant or Collateral degrees. For that the Crown of *Scotland* hath contained in one certain Family, from K. *Fergus* the first (contemporary with the *Grecian* Monarch *Alexander* the Great,) is by all our Historries put beyond any dispute. And to suggest any defence against the ignorance of such who may here mistake the figuring of our Kings in the degrees from Father to Son, as if the one immediatly succeeded the other, would but impose upon your better knowledge, who does sufficiently understand that the elder Collaterals secluded the Descendants (as was then also customary in other Northern Nations, untill King *Kenneth* the 3. Civiliz'd it to a just succesion in the true and immediat Descent.

But should this (Sir) ever go further then your Closet, I little doubt, but some will be apt to say, *magno conatu nugas*; and that all men are descended in a Line Male from *Adam*, which truly a little Rhetorick could perswade me to believe: but that all are come, or yet so come, of Kings and true Royal Cadets will require more Oratory, before I be proselyted a *Leveller*. Have I not salv'd His Majesties Descent from His Crowned Predecessors, even to our King *Fergus* the 1. and sufficiently obviat what objections can be rais'd against me there, having here only but singled out the Descent-Male, which as it hath the *Preachers* blessing, our King even in this branch, being in all its steps still the Son of Nobles, so if the mourning *Prophet* meant (in that his 35. *chap.*) any good to *Jonadab* the son of *Rhehab*: is it not worth the considering, that God hath been pleased to continue the Lawful Posterity of even our last Heathenish King in a true Line Male to this very day, especially now, when His Majesty is so frequently Addressed to Seclude his only *Brother*, who equally enjoys the same blessing with himself. But the *Men of Shaftsburie*, with *Gallio*, will care for none of those things, it matters the les if His Sacred Majesty should, who might graciously perhaps allow it to add one grain of weight to his fixed royal kindness, for the fourty fifth man child, from the Loyns of the first *Ethodius*, without any Female interruption, for beyond fifteen hundred years.

Yet seing even in this Branch of His Majesties Pedegree above represented, I do not in all things agree with the more constant tradition, I beg your leave (Sir) to mark where I differ, intreating you would but patiently hear my reasons, wherein I shall endeavour to be as brief as the clearing of the matter will permit.

But as I am writing, One tells me, it will be thought arrogant presumption in me to alter the received Opinion, or to controvert with *Buchanan*, *Boes*, or *Skeen*. Good Lord! shall we live in an Age, wherein there is so much noise for the liberty of the Subject, and yet be denyed the liberty of reason,

reaſon, or reaſoning in the enquiry of truth? I hope there be many good Proteſtants who will not preſſe me to believe all the legendary tales in *Boes*; and I am perſwaded, there be many Loyal Subjects, who will not adviſe me to aſſent to all that *Buchanan* wrote; and I hope common reaſon will convince any man, that in Antiquities, which conſiſts in matter of fact, it is ſafer to pin our faith upon old Charters truly expede by the Granters, and in the times to which they relate, then upon the looſer ſheets of private Hiſtorians, writing but ſome Centuries after, who belike if they kept the general threed of the ſtory, did not much either examine or notice the particularities or Genealogies of Families; yea, and in ſome things here controverted, our Antiquaries do not agree with our Hiſtorians; and ſhould you, and I, Sir, to gratifie their miſtaken opinions, *Mahomet*-like, hang between?

But to the matter in hand; *Boes* ſayes, *Fincormachus* was the Son of *Cormachus*, and here I place him ſon to *Donald* 2. well, we agree however in the main aſſertion. For if *Cormachus* was Couſin-german to *Crathilinthus*, and Brother to *Findocus*, (for *Boes* calls him *Patruus*) *Athirco* the Grandfather behooved to be the common *Stipes*, and ſo is yet ſalved the deſcent in a Line Male. But if *Cormachus* was ſon of *Athirco* (which he behoved to be, if he was *Patruus* to *Crathilinthus*) why might not *Boes* have made his Uncle *Dorus* carry him alſo away from the cruelty of *Natholocus*, with his three Brothers *Findocus*, *Carantius* and *Donaldus*? But alace! *Boes* himſelf (except in this preſent caſe) doth with all our other Hiſtorians give *Athirco* no moe ſons then the three I have juſt now named. But the truth is, That our King, who immediatly ſucceeded *Crathilinthus*, ſhould not have been named *Fincormachus*, but *Cormachus* only; And the miſtake lay here, that King *Cormeick* or *Cormeig*, (for ſo the old *Highlanders* term him) had the Epithet of *Pheun*, which in the *Iriſh*, or old *Highland* Language, ſignifies fair, (as the Tutor of M^cleane informs me) ſo that *Pheun Cormeich* ſhould be no more then *Cormachus Pulcher*, and not *Filius Cormachi*. For the *Highlanders* do not make uſe of the Syllable *Fin*, but the Syllable *Mack* and *Vic*; when they intend to expreſs *Patronymicks*; For if *Fin* be a Patronymick Particle, and hold ſo, in the Nephew *Fincormachus*, why not alſo in the Uncle *Findocus*? and ſo if *Fin* ſignifies *Filius*, his father ſhould have been *Docus*, but he was *Athirco*; So that ſuch who have firſt given an account of this King in Latine, perhaps had no great skill in the *Iriſh* Tongue. And finding him alwayes called *Feun Cormeich*, have wrote him *Fincormachus*. And if it be retorted, that if *Fin* be but *Pheun* in *Fincormachus*, why ſhould it not be alſo *Feun* in *Findocus*? I anſwer, the Parity holds not in Epithets and Patronymicks, for *Fin* is but Epithetital in *Fincormachus*, to the Perſon *Cormeig*, which is a full and Chriſtned Name, and there are yet a ſtock of people who patronymically Surname themſelves *Mackormeichs*, from one *Cormeich*, the founder of the Family; whereas *Fin* in *Findocus* is nothing but a bare ſyllable of the Chriſtned name *Findoch* (without any ſignification in it ſelf, as yet it ſounds in the name *Finlaw*, common and ordinary with us to this day. And I am told, that *Cormeich* imports in the *Iriſh* as much as an *Odd ſon*, where the word *Odd* cannot relate to number; For *Athirco* having three ſons before, if *Cormeich* was the fourth, then he could not be called an odd ſon in reſpect of number, for *numerus quaternus eſt numerus par, non impar*, ſo that *Odd* muſt relate to a quali-

) equivalent to the word *Strange*. which hath here been given him in respect of his Beauty and Fairnes, of a Countenance belike more becoming a Woman than is allowed to the austerities of a Virile Complexion, and his Childhood *Cormeich* hath been confirmed in his riper years, by the Epithet *Feun*, *Cormeich-feun*, an odd son for his fairnes. And for *Buchanans* naming him *Fincormachus* and not *Cormachus* (who may be supposed understood the *Irish* Tongue) it imports not; for being but born in the Eastern parts of the *Lennox*, and bred still in places more easterly, he might not have understood all the *Irish* Dialects; but suppose he did, he writing a History in pure and neat Latine, thought it not worth the noticing, in his designed Theme, to alter in this, the Copies before him; neither should I have meddled with it here, if *Boes* had not expresly named him *Filius Cormachi*, whereas *Buchanan* and *Lesly* satisfie themselves, that he was Nephew to *Findocus*, and Cousin-german to *Crathilinthus*, without naming his Father, who was *Donald*. For when *Dorus* fled with his three Nephews, to the *Picts*, doubtless if his brother *Athirco* had had a fourth son, *Cormachus* that pious and kind Uncle, would not have left him to the mercy of the cruel *Natholocus*. And it will be but needless to suppose, that *Fincormachus* might have been the son of *Carantius*, and not of *Donald*; For *first*, that is against *Boetius*'s own story. *Secondly*, It makes nothing against my great assertion, seing even by yielding, *Res* but *redit eodem*, that he is still Grand-child by a son to *Athirco*, but had he been the son of *Carantius*, for whom *Boes* bewrayes so much kindnes (in that his Romantick fable of him) sure *Cormachus* would never, by that Author, have had the honour to father the son of so noble a Warriour, and King of the *Britons*, as *Boes* makes his *Carantius* to be, amongst whose singular atchievements, I wonder why *Boes* (or rather his two stipendiary Friers, whom he imployed in the Collection of his History) forgot this so notable effort of his who having fled as suspected accessory to the murthering of his brother K *Findocus*, and after traversing most part of the *Roman* Impire, had the good fortune, not only to return to this Ile, and be install'd King of the *Britons*, before the death of his Goodsyre King *Ethodius*; but also to live after he purg'd himself of the false aspersion, before his Nephew *Crathilinthus*, which strange adventure (and I pray you mark it) he accomplished thus. *Findocus* was murthered in the year of our LORD 263. And if the *Caurasius* in *Eutropius* (whom the English name *Carausius*) be the same person with this our *Carnasius*, (as *Boes* is pleased to say he was,) then this *Caurasius-Carantius-Carausius*, (who rebelled against *Caracalla*, and succeeded in the British Throne to *Dassianus*) came to be King of the *Britons*, Anno 218. when his Grand-father *Ethodius* the 2. lived till the year 221. And *Crathilinthus* came not to the Crown, till the year 278. and yet *Alectus* governed after *Carantius*, Anno 215. which, when you reconcile to a just Synchronism, I shall the readier believe, that *Cormachus* was father to *Fincormachus*, and son to *Athirco*, even notwithstanding that the Tutor of M^cleane tells me, the *Highlanders* with him speak always *Cormeich*, the son of *Donald*.

But I hasten to *Bancho*, for whose Descent, as I offer it here from K. *Kenneth* the 2. I shall presently be allarum'd with *gratis dictum*, *gratis dictum*. But soft a little, we are not here upon Apodeictick demonstrations, the case and antiquity thereof calls for no such proofs; 'tis fair we come to credit rational and moral arguments and inducements.

I shall

I shall therefore ingenuously tell you, how I did first come by the Relation. A country man of ours (now deceased) proposed to *Charles* late Duke of *Lennox*, to branch a compleat Genealogical Tree of the entire Family of the *Stuarts*, which so relished with that Noble Prince, that he brought with him, the last time he came to *Scotland*, a Paper, which gives *Buncho*'s Descent, from K. *Kenneth* the 2. in all things as I have here, and in the Tree aftermentioned, marked *c*. And which Paper, the Duke said, that his Uncle D. *James* got in the time of the late Troubles, from an ingenious Gentleman, and lover of Antiquities, as handed down to him from some documents, that were carried out of this Kingdom by *Edward Longshanks*. The Copy I got from a Gentleman, who had it from Duke *Charles* himself. And this account from the Duke of *Lenhox* Paper, is agreeable in all things to the old Highland *Shanchies* rhime they have of the Thane of *Lochabers* Pedegree, and a *Shanchy*, *Schanchuner*, or *Scheanchie*, (as the *Highlanders* speak) is a person who hath charge to notice Genealogies, the same with *Buchanans Senecio*, and such are yet in use with the Lairds of *M'leane*, *M'laud*, and *M'donald*, and as well K. *Duncans* esteem and imployments, as *Macbeths* fears of this *Buncho*, conjoyned with the Weird-sisters response, his Inheritance and Title of *Lochaber*, with his Oy's coming so soon into favour, do abundantly speak him a Cadet of the Royal Family. And probable it is, that that *Donald* who kill'd King *Duffus* at the Castle of *Forres*, might have been our *Buncho*'s Goodsyres elder Brother; for the Dukes Paper gives *Murdocus* two Sons, *Donald* and *Phearchar*, and the time will well allow it too; for *Duffus* was brother to *Kenneth* the third, and *Culenus* did Raign but four years, and we know with whom *Buncho* was contemporary; (and that the old Kings spread the wings of the Royal Family, first to *Galloway*, then to *Lochaber*) and which *Donald* being of the blood Royal, might have had (amongst other temptations) his ambition set on edge, by some mock-prophesie from these Witches, with whom he truckt for discovery of the roasting the effigie of *Duffus*, *that he or his might sometimes enjoy the Crown*, which was upon a better account renewed some years after to his Brothers Oy. And there goes an uncontroverted tradition, that *Buncho* is descended of one K. *Kenneth*, and which of the two last you pitch upon, is alike tome in the Case controverted. For if you cannot go the length of *Kenneth* the 2. hold you with *Kenneth* the 3. for the Grand-father, who was son of K. *Malcolm* the first, and he son to *Donald* the fifth, and he to *Constantine* the 2. who was eldest son to K. *Kenneth* the 2. and so are we but come where we were, and still in a Line *Male*. And do you think, I would willingly quit three Kings for three Cadets, if I thought *Buncho* had been by *Ferquhard* Grandchild to *Kenneth* the 3. But he being descended of one of the two last *Kenneths*, they have misplaced his Father and Goodsyre, making the father, who as by the Dukes Paper, should have been *Kenneth* to be *Ferquhard*, and the Goodsyre who should have been *Ferquhard*, to be *Kenneth*, whom they made K. *Kenneth* the 3. For will any think, that if such a marrial man as *Buncho* had been Grand-child by *Ferquhard* to K. *Kenneth*, the 3. but he might in those dayes (so shortly after *Kenneths* alteration of the former confused way of succeeding) have had some dispute for the Crown with the more easy natur'd K. *Duncan*, who stood in a degree remoter, and that by the interposition of a *Lasse* too. And I remember that some years ago (before ever I did see the Paper produced by the

Duke of *Lennox*) finding one Baron *Mackcorquodale* in the City, and hearing that he had an old Charter from one of the K. *Kenneths*, I went to the Gentleman, who seemed not to deny the having of such a Charter, but said it was at home, and that it should have been given to his Predecessor, from one K. *Kenneth*, of whom was descended the great Thane of *Lochaber*, and that his Land was given to his Predecessor, for bringing away the head of a Scots King from the *Picts*, and that the tradition was by his Progenitors thus handed down unto himself, and that his Estate was never more or lesse (except in the improvements of industry) and that God had blessed their small family in a constant Line Male to himself, who had then both sons and brethren alive. And as I believe this Deed or Grant, I scarcely dare name it Charter, were it produced to such as can read it, will appear to be the oldest writ of that nature now extant in *Scotland*; so may it give encouragement to be Loyal to the living Prince, when this Baron *Mackcorquodales* respect for the dead, hath been from Heaven so signally rewarded. And tho the Gentleman I spoke with could not tell me, whether granter was K. *Kenneth* the 2, or the 3. yet *Boes* in his tenth Book makes it clear to have been *Kenneth* the 2. For when the *Picts* had barbarously cut off the head of K. *Alpin*, near to *Dundie*, they affixt it on a Pole, at the principal gate of their chief City, and that some Scots young men, having the *Pictish* Dialect, and counterfeiting themselves to play the Merchant, went to the City, stole away the Head, and carried it to his son King *Kenneth* the second, who was then in *Argyle*, and where (sayes *Boes*) they were rewarded by the King with Lands and Estate. And the Baron of *Mackcorquodale's* Fortune lyes (I hear) in *Knapdale* in *Argile* Shire; tho with credit to the tradition, yet with favour to the Gentleman, I shall hardly think the Charter so old; perhaps a later Charter may have such a Narrative, for I question if formal Charters were with us so old as *Kenneth* the 2. but the tradition proves all I intend. And *Buchanan* giving the inducements of *Mackbeths* murdering of *Buncho*, sayes, that he was *homo potens industrius, & Regio jam sanguine imbutus*, which sounds no other in plain English, then, That he was a powerful man fitted for action, yea, and moreover of the Family Royal. And so indeed he was, as well by his Descent, as by his Marriage, having taken to wife his Cousin *Maud*, daughter to *Phaelus*, who was son to *Lachlanus*, son to *Garethus*, eldest son of *Dorus*, and Grand-child to King *Ethus*. So that what I have said, will, I hope, (*in hoc facto antiquo*, wherein there be in all things such an harmonius consonancy) sufficiently astruct *Buncho's* descent from K. *Kenneth* the 2. And it is of no weight to alledge any thing from the silence of our Historians, who touch little of Genealogies, except in the Crowned heads. Yea, and *Buchanan* belies them in the general, in that his *Regio sanguine jam imbutus*; though he be not special in the particular persons and degrees. And the very colecting or extracting of the forementioned Paper, from the documents carryed away with *Edward Langshanks*, cannot but fortifie what I have said; For that imperious Victor, designing to deface the very remembrance of a Kingdom here, by his taking away, and destroying what monuments he could have of our Kings and Kingdom, had he not, amongst others found *Buncho* and his Posterity near and considerable Cadets of the Royal Family, I doubt if that Paper had (as I have related it) ever come to the hands of an English Gentleman, and questionless the repeated preferments and high trusts that K. *Duncan* heaped on *Buncho*, as well in the intestine Commo-

tions

tions, as in the Wars with the *Danes*, which happened in that Kings time, speaks him lowdly to have been his near Kinsman. And beyond all peradventure, *Mackbeth*'s jealousy flowed not so much from *Bancho*'s valour or his bare response only, but as bottom'd upon his Cognation of blood, as *Buchanan* hath well observed in his *Igitur veritus ne homo potens, &c.* And which is legibly read in *Malcolm Canmor*'s so quickly advancing his Grand-child to places of so great and near concern as *Steward* of his House and Kingdom, extended by the K. *Maiden*, to the *Magnus Senescallus*, and which Relation was also remembred by K. *Robert* the *Bruce*, for the Royal Stem residing in *Argyle*, the first branch spreads to *Galloway*, the next to *Lochaber*. And as the *Bruce* was the first who came to the Crown of the House of *Galloway*, who so fit a match for his eldest Daughter, as her Cousin, *Walter* the great *Steward* from *Bancho* of *Lochaber*? and which seems hath not been forgot, even by our later *Mary*, for no Husband to the Queen Heretrix of *Scotland*, and Douager of *France*, like to her Kinsman *Darnly*, by the House of *Lennox*, from *Walter* of *Dundonald*. So connatural is it for Princes to be just and true to the righteous Heir, that Queen *Elizabeths* last breath could ingeminate *none but her Cousin* JAMES, *none but her Cousin* JAMES.

And now (Sir) little remains but to give my reasons, why I differ from the Common opinion of the first *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, and to prove the *Walter* and *Allan*, whom here I insert in the Line, and who are left out in the ordinary accounts of the same.

The received opinion then gives *Walter* the son of *Fleance*, to be the first *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, and I make but *Walter* the second, (Grand-child by *Allan* to the first *Walter*) the first Great *Stuart* of *Scotland*. Now I hope we will agree, that *Senescallus* is homonymous, nor shall I here trouble you with all the various acceptations of the word; allow me but three.

First, That *Senescallus* is *Dapifer*, that he is *Oeconomus*, and that he is *Locum-tenens*; which without other proof I know (you are so ingenuous) you will not refuse. *Senescallus-Dapifer*, for the Family within the walls, *Steward* of the *House*; *Senescallus-Oeconomus*, for the Provisions from abroad (as in the Purveyors of *Solomon*,) uplifter, and ingatherer of the Rents, which of old consisted most *in ipsis corporibus*. But when the use of money became more frequent, this *Senescallus-Oeconomus* came thereafter to be absorbed in the *Thesaurer* or *Chamberlain*, as it relates to *Questura*. And yet the payment of the Rents, whether *in ipsis corporibus*, or in money, being often refused, questioned, and debated, it was more than requisit that this *Senescallus* should have *Jurisdictionem & potestatem quandam*, a Civil Jurisdiction and distreinzeable power, and in case of force and resistance, military and coercive; in which case, when this *Senescallus* was in or about the exercise of his Office, he was said (for the better procuring to him of reverence and obedience) *Tenere locum Regis*. And as this midle *Senescallus*, Participating of both extreams, was sometimes termed *Dapifer*, and sometimes *Locum-tenens*; So did the *Senescallus-locum-tenens*, through processe of time, creep up in his Military power and capacity to be *Ductor Exercituum, Regiarum Copiarum Præfectus*, and to be stiled *Magnus Senescallus*, where the Epithet *magnus* is not prefixed to *Senescallus*, except the *Locum-tenens* be *Generalissi-*

mo, and that, if not hereditary, for life at least, and not upon single emergents. And who among the ancient *Romans* boasted himself of the Title of *Magnus*, but *Potestate etiam gaudebat Imperatoriâ*; yea, *Magni* alone, to *Martial* signified *Imperatores*. So what I have premised, furnishes me with this Distinction, *Senescallus Regis*, *Senescallus Regni*, and *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, agreeable to our Customs and Histories. *Senescallus Regis*, *Dapifer*, whose Fee is mentioned in the Acts of King *Malcolme* the second, *Senescallus Regni*, *Walter* the first, the Hereditary *Oeconomus*, who gave to his Posterity the Sirname of *Stuart*. *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, *Walter* the second, the first hereditary *Generalissimo* of the Kingdom, and in the Kings absence Commander alwayes in chief of his Forces, and the Kings *Lieutenant*, where ever the Royal Standart stood display'd.

But you will be apt to say, that bare assertions are too weak engines, to shake so rooted a tradition, and allowing of my Distinctions in the general, yet shall I nevertheless gain but few Proselytes, unless I prove that the first *Walter* was not *Magnus Senescallus* in the sense that I have given, and that there was a *Walter*, whom I name the 2. betwixt *Alexander* and *Alan*. Seing then it is easier to disprove an affirmative, then to prove a Negative, I say the first *Walter*'s being *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, is but a meer vulgar tradition from a mistake, in confounding the Grand-father for the Oy, from the names of *Walter* and *Malcolm*: for as *Walter* the Goodsyre was made *Senescallus Regni*, by K. *Malcolm Canmoire*, so was *Walter* the Oy, made *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, by K. *Malcolm* the *Maiden*. And the better to excuse the mistake, much of the cause of both their preferments was their being active in suppressing some insurrections in *Galloway* and the *Highlands*, most probably occasioned from the Kings *Officers*, demanding, and the Disobeyers undutifull refusing of their Rents and Revenues, due and addebted by them to the Crown. And the first *Walter* is never named *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, by any of our Historians; For *Boes* calls him but *Regni Senescallum*, (*i. e.*) sayes he, *Regiorum proventuum primarium Procuratorem*. *Buchanan* speaks him no other then *Stuartum totius Scotiæ*, adding, *Quasi dicas*, *Oeconomum*. *John Fordon*, in his *Scotichronicon* writes him, his Son, and his Grand-child, no more but *Dapiferi*, only *Lesly* hath these words, *summi Senescalli ut loquimur*, where *ut loquimur* explains the *summus Senescallus*, as commonly used in *Leslies* time, and does not tell the true import of it, In the dayes of *Malcolm Canmoir*, when our other Historians make him but *Senescallus-Oeconomus*, and *Stuartorum familiæ Princeps*. Yea, and *Leslie*'s own *Summus senescallus* amounts to no more then *Summus Oeconomus*. And tho the word *Scotiæ* had been added, yet will it with the understanding Reader signifie nothing but *Regiorum Oeconomorum Supremus*, which none denies; and any Grammaticaster can tell the difference betwixt *Summus* and *Magnus*.

So that it is now evident and obvious, that there is a palpable difference betwixt a *Steward* and a *Magnus Senescallus*. For does not *Stuart*, as a Sirname from *Oeconomus*, at one and the same time serve many Persons, and severall distant Houses and Families, whereas *Magnus Senescallus Scotiæ*, as a special and particular Office in dignity, rested only in the person Chief of the whole Clan for the time, without any communication

to others. And if *Walter* the first was, as *Magnus Seneſcallus Scotiæ*, *Regiarum Copiarum Ductor ac Præfectus*, why was *Gilchriſt* Earle of *Angus*, Commander in chief to the Forces of *Malcolm* the *Maiden*, againſt the *Gallovidians* and *Highlanders*, when *Walter* the ſecond, the firſt *Walters* Oy, was in company with him, and did not ſo much as lay claim to his right, as did thereafter his Succeſſor *John* at the Battel of *Falkirk*, as well againſt the more redoubted Warriour *Wallace*, as againſt the *Cumin* his elder Colleague in the Regency; But that even becauſe then, the ſecond *Walter* was only *Seneſcallus Oeconomus*, and not *Magnus Seneſcallus Scotiæ*, which ſhortly he got therefore for ſeveral reaſons conferred upon him, partly I ſuppoſe for his own valour ſhown with Earle *Gilchriſt*, partly out of remembrance of his Father, who went to the Holy Wars with *Godfrey de Bulloigne*, and was preſent with him at the Siedge of *Antioch*; but more eſpecially for a *Raggio di Stato*, it being thought belike then convenient that, the *Summus Oeconomus* ſhould be made alſo *Magnus Seneſcallus*, while both were conjoyned in the perſon of a near and Loyal Kinſman. And have I not ſeen an old Coat of *Arms*, for the *Stuart*, Entaſſelled or cordeleired with *Thiſtles*, and as it were ſome leaves or twigs interwoven, and giving the Motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſit*, where the Supporters held, one of them upon a Standart, the Flag of the Family, and the other bore a St. *Andrews* Croſs. And what more proper Hierogliphick in Herauldry could be given to the Counting *Oeconomus* then the *Feſſe Chequie*? And what fitter for a *Magnus Seneſcallus Scotiæ*, then the Badge then uſed by the Kingdom, with the Thiſtles and Motto; abundantly expreſſive of his Duty, Courage, and Loyalty, when conjoyned with the Creſt, which was the head of an Unicorn. And in a Letter from the Nobility of *Scotland* to the *Pope*, *Anno*, 1320. among ſome thirty eight Seales appending, when I did ſee it, the Seale of *Walter*, Son-in-Law to *Robert* the *Bruce*, was only a plain Saltier or St. *Andrew*'s Croſs (as in my Notes upon that Letter I have obſerved.) And his Son *Robert*, the firſt King of the *Stuarts*, when he reſerved and annexed the Eſtate and Office of the Great *Steward* of *Scotland*, for ever to the Crown, to be enjoyed alwayes by the Kings eldeſt ſon, the Prince Politickly ſaid, *It was too dangerous to make anie a* Magnus Seneſcallus, *or hereditarie General, but the next Heir of the Crown*, (although even that King ſhewed more then ordinary kindneſs for his ſecond ſon *Robert*;) yet, for the honour of his Fathers Houſe (for he came to the Crown in right of his Mother) did he advance the Badges and Symboles of the Office, to ſtand external Imbelliſhments to the Coat *Royal*, dignifying and inlarging the old Creſt, by tying his gorged *Unicorn*, with a chain of Loyal Magnanimity to ſuport the Regal *Lyon*; teaching thereby the *Prince* and *Steward* of *Scotland*, for ever to be faithful and Loyal to the Crown; which may convince ſuch of their fooliſh ignorance, who from the Chain, in our Kings Atchievement, would forſooth by a ſtrange Armorial Logick, argue a *Vaſſalage* to *England*. What! Our *Unicorn* is not chained, nor does he chain his *Lyon* to their *Leopards*; while *in defence* of his Quadrupedal Monarch, he bears a Horn, with a *Nemo me impune laceſſit*. Hence, Sir, you may readily conceive I ſtand a little ingadged to crave pardon, why I ſo formally differ from thoſe who write the Epigraph *Nemo me impune laceſſet*, in a Circle environing the Image of St. *Andrew*, when I attribute all to the *Magnus Seneſcallus*. Permit me then Sir, to offer my Arguments, and gueſs at their grounds; and though this be a digreſſion, yet ſpeaking here of His Majeſties Line Male, I hope it will

not

not be to you unpleasant, that this Paper present you my thoughts of the Royal Badges of the Kingdom, with the Principal order of *Knighthood*, ordinarily thereunto assigned.

The tale then goes, That *Hungus* King of the *Picts* (assisted by *Achaius* against the Saxon *Athelstane*) did at *Elsansfoord* neare *Haddingtown*, upon an Apparition of St. *Andrews* Cross, obtain a memorable and unexpected Victory, whereupon that Apostle became St. *Patron* to the *Scots* and *Picts*. And in all Battels thereafter, was success under his Banner equally pray'd for, expected and promised; And to whose greater honour, did *Achaius* erect in the City of St. *Andrews*, an order of the *Knights* of the *Thistle*, with the Motto as last aforesaid, *Nemo me impune lacesset*. And yet there be some who attribute this to a congratulation of the League with *Carlemain*; as if it should be touchie and uneasy for any to disquiet the *Scots*, when so assisted by the *French*.

As to the truth of the Apparition, I leave it to those who list to believe it. Nor will I here concern my self, whether St. *Andrew* was Patron to the *Picts* before the days of *Hungus*, when *Regulus* the Grecian *Monk* first brought some of his Reliques to King *Hergustus*. Far lesse will I now state the Question, When, or by what methods and devices, the Religious remembrance of, or respectful reverence to, the Names and Virtues of the Saints departed, did first in our Church creep up to a formal adoration, and superstitious Invocation of them. Since I verily believe (if our Historians abuse *Spotsw. l. 2.* us not,) that the storied Vision appeared not to *Achaius*. For the Scots *Boet. fo. 8.* Auxiliaries went under the conduct of his son Prince *Alpine*, the Crowned King; judging it below his Royal Dignity, to march in person as an Allie, in the but extrinsick quarrel of his bordering, and oftentimes offensive neighbour. And although the Badge of St. *Andrew*, be derived to us from the *Picts*; yet some in their relations thereof, are not so fully clear, in either the cause, occasion, or time, whether before or after the destruction of the *Picts*. If before, what tempted a Scots King to borrow from a *Pictish*? could he not have devised of his own? or, should the one brother-in-law, rob from the other, one of the choicest Badges of his Christian devotion, and Princely honour? But if the *Scots* assumed it after the fatal period of the *Pictish* Kingdom, sure *Achaius* lived not to see that exterminating blow. And how peaceable will you make *Hungus* with his *Picts*, who suffered a *Scots* King, not only quietly, but even gloriously, to erect himself Sovereign of an order of Knighthood, in one of the chiefe Cities of their own *Otholinia* (before *Kirk-Rule* was Christned St. *Andrews*) and that too in the name and under the Protection of their beloved Tutelary Saint, with the blessing of large promises for Victory to his Votaries, under no less then the menacing Epigraph, of *Nemo me impune lacesset*: for who would think, that the poor passive *Thistle*, could ever be so boistrous in the future. But why, contrary to all other Mottoes, so severe a menace in the Future? Did the deceased Brother of St. *Peter* so soon forget the dictates and example of his living Master, who when he was reviled, stood so far wide of revenge, as never so much as once to revile again; teaching his Disciples to learn of him to be meek and lowly, and not to suffer the Sun to go down upon their wrath. And why from a peaceable and inspired Apostle, such an

an ensurng word for Victory, succesſe and revenge, as *Nemo me impune laceſſet*, when the infallible Oracle, bids tell a Puiſſant and Martial Monarch, *Let not him that girdeth on his Harneſſe, boaſt himſelf, as he that putteth it off.* But belike that *Ventorious*, rather then *Victorious* Promiſe, hath been conceived a little ſcrimp of the *common* ſtile, *Conjunctly*, but not *ſeverally*; elſe what a pitiful pickle will they put St. *Andrews* in, for an *Orleans* gloſs upon his Text, when the Oy of *Achaius* ſucceſsively, and utterly, defeated. *Druskenus*, with his *Vicomagian*, *Horeſtian*, *Otholinian*, and all his other *Picts*, where the ears of the good Tutelar Saint, could not but ſtrangely, and more then once and again, at one and the ſame inſtant, be miſerably grated with the cries of many thouſand Scots, *Sancte Andrea, ora pro nobis*, re-echoed with as many groans from the *Picts*, *Dive Andrea, ora pro nobis.* What could be left to the tender hearted Apoſtle, but to ſit dumb, and let the Lord God of Hoſts from the juſtneſs of the cauſe, and the valour of the Combatants alone decide the quarrel.

I know and do grant you, that the valiant *Kenneth* the ſecond, did not aſſume, but as well by the Law of Arms, as right of blood juſtly claim'd, and Poſſeſt himſelf of the *Pictiſh* Badge, being equally their lawful Prince, and their fortunat Victor, who becauſe of their undutiful refuſing and reſiſting of his father and himſelf, ſcorned to quarter their Arms with thoſe of *Scotland*: yet, for a trophie of his ſucceſs, and from a reſpect to the Religious memory of the Apoſtle *Andrew*, did Politickly reſerve the Badge of his Croſs, to be born in his Martial Banner thereafter; whereof *Boes* ſayes, *manſit Pictis* (to wit after *Hungus victorie*) *& poſt eos deletos, Scotis exinde hoc inſtitutum in perpetuum.* To which *Leſly* agrees in his *Cum hoſtibus congreſſurus ſemper poſtea geſtabat, id quod Scoti omnes in memoriam victoriæ a Pictis etiamnum religioſiſſime obſervant.* That wiſe King divining perhaps that the *Engliſh*-Saxons (conform to the tradition) once falling under the ſign of S. *Andrew*, would be apt to fear the like thereafter. But that the Scots Kings uſed it further then in their Banners of War, untill thir later Centuries, would be proven ere I truſt it. For who can, upon any ingenuous acknowledgement ſay, he any wayes ever ſaw (or from authentick Authors, read) the Effigies of St. *Andrew* or his Croſs (by what ligament or Collar ſoever) pendulous to the Coat of *Scotland*, before the *Stuart* came to the Crown, not to diſcourſe when thoſe more modern methods of Double *Supporters*, pendant Medalls from Chains and Collars of Orders, with Epigraphs, came to be firſt, from a proud vanity embraced, and thereafter from an ambitious emulation affected, cheriſhed, and entertained amongſt the Independant Monarchs. Allowing then the *Scots* after *Kenneths* extinguiſhing of the *Picts*, to have born the Croſs and Badge of St. *Andrew* on their Standart Royal or Field-Banner, as in the preſent Banner Azure of *Scotland*, imbraced by the ſupporting *Unicorn* in the Royal Atchievement, which Banner was neceſſarily given and intruſted to the *Magnus Seneſcallus Scotiæ*, as the Kings Lieutenant in his Armies: and which Badge being equally the Enſign of the Kingdom, and Symbole of his Office, he moſt probably hath (according to the cuſtom of other Officers of that nature) worn about his body on a Medal, in a Ribband, Richly wrought, with an interwoven Collour of Thiſtles and Rue, with the emphatick and comprehenſive Ditton, *Nemo me impune laceſſit.* Not *me*, as the word

is interpret to a perſon) the glorious St. *Andrew*, who am now beyond the concerns or provocations of Mortalls Eternally taken up, in the beatifick viſion of the *Trin-une Jehove*; But *me* the *Captain General* of the Forces of *Scotland*, and Theſaurer, Chamberlain, Steward and Collector of the Rents and Revenues of the Crown, for the ſupport of the King, and Government.

And ſuch a *Magnus Seneſcallus*, might very juſtly and nobly, (and conform to the Rules and allowances of Herauldry, very warrantably too) have given ſuch a Callour to a Medal for St. *Andrew*, with the *Nemo me* (as I have explained it) *impune laceſſit.* If it be but minded that our firſt Great-*Stewards* Grand-fathers Grand-father *Bancho*, when Thane of *Lochaber* (and *Regionum Thani*, ſayes one *pleriſque in locis Stuarti vocantur*) was ſo ſorely wounded for diſcharging his duty in the collecting and inbringing of the Kings rents, that *Buchanan* ſayes of him, in his 7. Book *Initium ſpernendi Imperium natum in Abria, adverſus* Banchonem *ejus Regionis* Thanum, *hominem acrem, & æquitatis unicum cultorem, cujus in animadvertendo ſeveritatem, cum non perferendam ducerent mali, conſpiratione adverſus eum facta, bonis direptis, vulneratum ac ſemivivum expulerunt.* Or if the Inſurrections and Commotions, raiſed moſtly upon that ſame account, as well againſt his Grand-father, before he was made *Summus Oeconomus*, as againſt himſelf, before he came to be *Magnus Seneſcallus*, be not wholly, as yet forgot, : with which, if you take into conſideration *Buchanans* Character of King *Duncan*, that he was *Vir majore erga ſuos indulgentiâ quam in Rege opus eſt.* And ſpeaking of the ſtirs ſet on foot by *Angus* of *Galloway*, in the Reign of *Malcolm* the *Maiden*, he continues his Diſcourſe, with *Qui plus tamen ſpei in Regis ignavia quam ſuis viribus collocaret*, might not then, from their grounds; our firſt *Magnus Seneſcallus*, upon his being inaugurat and entred in his Office, cauſe ſome Herauld proclaime, or intimat in his name as follows.

Ye the Vaſſals, Rentallers and Subjects of the Scottiſh *Crown, although ſome of you, and your Predeceſſors, have, by Rebellions, refuſed your dues, and ſhaken off your Loyalty, and therein alſo abuſed* Bancho, *my Grand-father, and my ſelf: which yet, with dutiful ſervices to our Prince, we did ſo far overcome, as theſe outbreakings tended but to your loſs, and to the greater advantage and riſing of our Family, as this day you ſee me by the bleſſing of God, and the favourable bounty of my* Royall *Maſter inſtall'd the* Kings Lieutenant, *and the Great* Steward of the Kingdom. *Therefore I exhort you all to Loyalty and obedience, otherwiſe I will tell you, be you of whatever degree higher or lower, I have here an* Unicorns Horn *to puſh the one, and a* Thiſtle *to prick the other, and be aſſured however, that your* Rebellions *will but prove to you bitter as* Rue *in the end, and never offer to preſume upon the good nature of my King, to whoſe honour and intereſt I will be ſtill ſo faithful, as you muſt underſtand* Nemo me impune laceſit. *Yea, ſuch fortunat experience have I of the Divine aſſiſtance, that bleſt* Bancho, *my* Grand-father *and my ſelf, with ſucceſs againſt thoſe obſtinat* Rebels, *when we ſtood but in lower ſtations, that being now by my Sovereign, advanced to, and fortified in a higher preferment; I ſhall not diſpair, but that under his* Royal Banner, *and the luckie omen of* St. Andrew, *be able as* Generaliſſimo *of the King-*

Kingdom, without any vain oſtentation to obtrude to all and whaſoever the Enemies of my Lord the King, Nemo me impune lacesit, *where, whatever ſhall be wanting of ſucceſſe in the event, ſhall not fail to be ſupplied by my heartie prayers, bulked, I hope, with no deſpicable courage. And therefore do I now take their Symbols, to be conſtant and laſting monitors, to me and my ſucceſſors, as well of our faithfulneſs and dutie to our Maſter, as towards our fellow-Subjects.*

And which Symboles ſo choſen by the Great *Steward*, were thereafter, as I have already ſaid, placed by K. *Robert* the 2. the exterior Ornaments to the Coat Royal (yea, I ſuppoſe thoſe Voluminous extrinſick imbelliſhments and additaments, now in uſe in the Atchievements of free Princes, will neither here, nor ſcarcely elſewhere, own ſo old a date as *Achaius*, or his Grand-child *Kenneth*.) And ſo how handſomely does now the Regal *Lyon* in the Creſt Royal, ſit with his Sword and Scepter, a Vindicative Judge *in defence* of the Crown and Kingdom, when ſupported and incouraged by his ſon and ſucceſſor, examplifying to the People their Duty and Loyalty; advertiſing them, that whatever troubles they procure or creat to his Father or Predeceſſor, he as *Prince* and *Steward* of *Scotland*, ſtands there from God an avenging Magiſtrat at hand, with his *Nemo me impune lacesſit*. What needs then you, Sir, me, or any man, trouble our ſelves with the too much Legendary tale of S. *Andrews*, *me*, in a meaning Future, when the Great *Steward* helps us with better ſenſe, Hiſtory, and reaſon, from his own *me*, in a modeſter *Preſent* and *Preterfect* ſenſe. And as I believe, the writing *Lacceſſet*, will be found upon a true ſcrutinie to be but ſome new fancy. So would I gladly know, when the Epigraph firſt incircled the Image, which leads me to the Order of *Knighthood* it ſelf. And which, If I may without offence, I would exceedingly doubt of.

For what a manck and ſlender Order will it be, conſiſting only of a ſingle Sovereign without any Fellows. O! but ſome are confident enough, to ſpeak of the number of the Companions; yet in all ages down from *Achaius* they name not ſo much as one perſon. You know it is betwixt the more knowing and the Vulgar controverted, whether *Edward* the third, or his Son the *Black Prince* inſtituted the Garter. But here is *Achaius* inſtituting an order (and if ſo, the oldeſt in *Europe* of a Kings inſtitution; for the *Pairrie* of *Charles* the *Great* was a Society of men for Council and Government, and not an Order of Knighthood for Honour & Chevalry:) and yet not ſo much, as admitting his eldeſt ſon *Alpine* a Fellow, though he it was, who with *Hungus* beat *Athelſtane*. And ſure *Kenneth* hath had but little reſpect for his Grand-fathers inſtitution, and been as regardleſs of his Friends, if he beſtowed not a little honour on thoſe to whom he gave ſo much of fortune, by aſſociating his *Barus* and *Fifus* into the Order. And muſt we be ſo unmannerly, to ſay, that K. *Duncan* hath been but a ſorry Good-fellow, who could not quaffe it over to *Bancho*, for that his St. *Johnſtown*-collation to the *Danes*. And doubtleſs *Malcolm Canmoir* was peeviſh, who when he indulg'd ſo famous a Girth to *Mackduff*, yet grudg'd him, a green Ribband with a Thiſtle. Or did not the *Hay* at *Lonkartie*, the *Kieth* at *Camſtane*, with the *Stewart* who defeated *Acho* at the *Largs* deſerve it. And queſtionleſs *Robert* the *Bruce*, but undervalued the ſervice of the good

Dowglas, when he but dub'd him a Knight, without vouchsafing him the Collar of St. *Andrew*. And was the *Black Knight* of *Lorn*, who by wedding of a *Queen*, gave Brothers and Sisters to a *King*, adopted a Companion of the Order. And was not *James* the Fourth much more sparing of his favours then his person, who would not by alluring the Nobles into the Society of the *Thistle*, better incourage and detain them in that his too forward invasion at *Floudown*. And can you judge but *James* the 5. himself, would have lent *Oliver Sinclare*, his *Nemo me impune lacesset*, were it but to have stated him in competition with the *Maxwel* at *Solway*-Moss: And what Inamorato will say, that *Marie* should have denyed her Darling *Darnlie* the Communication of the Order (whereof she was equally Sovereign as her Sister *Elizabeth* of the *Garter*) when she designed to honour the Duke of *Rothsay*, with the Nuptial bed of a free born and Independant *Queen*; yea, would not her learned Son, amongst the rest of his Unions have interchanged some English Noblemen to the *Thistle*, as he did *Scots* to the *Garter*. But when did our Kings quit this so Antient and honourable an Order? Why do not the Champions of it give the account, as in other Orders we read and find. Sure it was derelinquist in no Century, for want of Martial and deserving men: but belike it went out, because it never came in, and it is but Childish to think, that there cannot be an antient *Crown* without a formal Order of *Knighthood* appendant to it, where the Argument runs stonger on the contrary side. And I am apt to believe, that this very mistake prevails with some, for their so tenacious maintaining of this so alleadged antiquitated Order, which looks to me too like a *French* translation, to be believ'd a *Scots* Original. For there's a St. *Michael*; here a St. *Andrew*, and an Apparition for both, the one to a Father, *Charles*, the other to a Son *Alpin*; both in, or near Battels, near also to Bridges and Rivers, the one against the *English*, at the Bridge of *Orleans* in *La Beauss* upon the *Loyre*; the other against the *English* too, near a Bridge upon *Tine* in *Lothian*: both, for ought I know, in a green Ribband, but to be sure, with intervoven Collours and lofty Mottoes, *Immensi tremor Oceani*, which, beyond all peradventure *Nemo me impune lacesset*: the Seat of the one at St. *Michaels* Mount in *Normandy*, from which the *French* partly had, and fully resolved to turn out the *English Normans*. The other at the Town of St. *Andrews* in *Otholinia* (now *Fife*) out of which by a strong Divination *Achaius* foresaw, that his Grandchild, would drive the *Picts*, only we want a St. *Andrew-Herauld*, when they had a Mount St. *Michael*, to attend upon the Order. Is it then any Heretical, disrespective, or disloyal conjecture to conceive that *Kenneth* the 2. made no other use of the Military Ensign of the *Picts*, then to repeat the same for his own, as victoriously gained by him in open Battel, ornamented thereafter as I have expressed by the Great *Steward*, for the Badge of his Charge (as i i some comparison, we yet see the *Chamberlain* wear the Golden Key on a blew Ribband,) augmenting the Royal atchievement, by the direction of *Robert* the 2. and intended for an Order by *James* the 5. after his return from *France*, who having had the *Garter* from his Uncle the *Cockle*, from his Father-in-law, and the *Fleece* from his friend and Allie, the *Emperour* Blusht: belike, to want an order of his own; which, that it might not derogat from the antiquity of his Kingdom, was it not as easy for him to hire *Monks* to skrew it up to *Achaius*, as for *Edward Langshanks* to cause contrive to Fable of *Brutus*, for clatching up a claime, before the *Pope* to *Scotland*. And if this Order

was eſtabliſhed before the days of K. *James* the 5. Why cite they not an authentick and creditable Author, who wrote before him, giving ſome rational account of the ſame? And why is he our only King, whoſe ſhoulders appear ſurrounded with the Ribband? Was the Collar of St. *Andrew* inconſiſtent with the penitential Girdle of his Father? but what ſhould have impeded his other Predeceſſors to uſe it, or if he perfected the Order, who were his Companions? it is not ſo long ſince, but ſome of them might be remembred. And why did his Daughter and Grand-child, lay this his (ſo much hugged) Order, ſo ſoon aſide? I ſhall little doubt, but here you might from the ſuggeſtions of ſome, alledge, I have run my ſelf in a groſs (if not dangerous) *Præmunire*. But I write to one who knows the difference betwixt *Badges* and *Arms*. Far be it from me, to rob the Royal Atchievement of that its honourable (tho extrinſick) *Badge* of St. *Andrew*, pendulous to the Collar, which I never ſee, but it equally minds me of the Deſtruction of the *Picts*, gallant Reſolution of the Great *Steward*, and reverential Duty of our *Robert* the 2. to the memory of His Fathers Family. And beyond peradventure, had *James* the 6. or any of the *Charles*'s, lookt upon this as the Badge of an Order, they would have worn it, at leaſt when they were in *Scotland*. And to alledge the *French* and *Engliſh* Writers gives it ſo, is but to gratifie their miſtakes, to the prejudice of our true and more martial antiquities; for our Kings never wanted power to confer *Knighthood*, but as they did it moſt in *Procinctu*, to the deſerving ſo did they little value thoſe preſcribed Orders, that creept but in upon deſigns in later times, the Knights of our Antient Kings being truly *Milites*, tho of no formal Order, beyond that of *merit*.

But me fears, I have provoked your patience to be a little out of Order, to the hazard of loſing my ſolitary *Walter* and *Allane*.

To prove then my *Second Walter*; I firſt inſtance *Skeen*, in that his Table of the Kings, from *Malcolm* the ſecond, printed with the Acts of Parliament, (and which I alſo repeat, for proving him the firſt Great *Steward*) where to be ſure that we do not miſtake the *Malcolm*, by misfiguring 4. for 3. he adds the word *the* Maiden, for he Prints expreſly, *Walter made Great Steward of* Scotland, *by* Malcolm 4. *the* Maiden. And *Skeen* being Clerk Regiſter, he hath been doubtleſs from the Records of the Kingdom ſufficiently inſtructed for his ſo writing him *the firſt Great Steward*. And though he miſtook the ſending of his ſon *Allan* to the Holy Wars, if he means theſe of *Godfrey de Bulloigne*, yet is he abundantly fortified in his *Walter*, by *Fordon* in the 25. *chap.* of his 8. *Book*, ſaying, Walterus *filius* Allani *Dapifer Regis*, *qui* Paſletum *fundavit*; *obiit*, Anno 1177. And if *Walter* the ſon of *Fleance*, who was more then twenty years old, ere he came to *Scotland* to his Couſin *Malcolm Canmoir*, lived to this time, expreſſed by *Fordon*, as he was *Seneſcallus*, ſo ſhould I well allow him to be *Magnus* for his Age, ſince upon the moſt Sober computation that can be, he behooved to exceed an hundred years at leaſt: For himſelf being twenty before he frequented the Court of his Grand-father in *Wales*, and which was before he came unmarried to *Scotland*, what years will you allow to his ſon at *Antioch*, 1099. who being the eldeſt, probably left alſo a ſon behind him when he departed the Kingdom. But Oh, this *Walters* father is *Allan*, not *Fleance*, and but yet *Dapifer* to *Fordon*,

don, whose Grand-father then could not have been the first *Magnus Seneſcallus Scotiæ*. Moreover, this my second *Walter* is further astructed by a Charter, which I have seen granted by *Malcolm* 4. confirming the Church of *Falkirk*, and certain Lands thereunto belonging, to the Abbacy of *Halyrude-houſe*, bearing Date at the *Maiden Caſtle*, where the witneſs, next after the Biſhops and Earles, is *Waltero filio Allani*. And this Charter which muſt be before the year 1165. and after the year 1153. (for in the one did *Malcolm the Maiden* ſucceed, and in the other did he die) does unanſwerably make out from their own conceſſions another *Walter* then he of *Dundonald*. For the Father of this *Walter* is expreſly in the Charter named *Allan*. Will you then ſay, *Walter* of *Dundonald*, who lived till the year 1241, would be inſert as a probative witneſs to a deed of *Malcolm* the 4: (when the witneſſes ingroſs'd in the Charters of our Kings, were, and yet are men of years and offices) ſeing they interpoſe *Alexander* who builded *Pasley*, to be his Father: whoſe father, yet notwithſtanding, was even our ſecond *Allan*, of whom *Fordon* in the 56 *chap.* of his 9. *Book*, ſayes, *obiit* Walterus *filius* Allani *junioris*, Anno *Dom.* 1241. And juſtly was he *Junior*, becauſe *Allan* the Grand-child to *Fleance* was *Senior*. And moſt truly might *Fordon* write him Father to *Walter* of *Dundonald*, ſeing I have ſeen him in a Charter from King *Alexander* the 2. to the Houſe of *Sutherland*, Dated at St. *Andrews*, 26. of *Decemb.* the 22. year of his Reign, which anſwers to the year of *Chriſt*, 1234. or 1235. inſert a witneſs next after *Patrick* Earle of *Dumbar*, in theſe words, Waltero *filio* Allani *Seneſcallo juſtitiario* Scotiæ. And in another Charter yet in my hands, granted by the ſaid King *Alexander* the 2. at *Traquair*, the firſt day of *June*, in the twenty firſt year of his Reign; confirming to the *Abbacy* of *Cowper*, two Carrucats and a half of Land meaſured in *Feodo de magno Blair* in Excambion for the Common Muir of *Blair*, *per eaſdem diviſas* ſayes the Charter, *per quas* Walterus *filius* Allani *Seneſcallus noſter Scotiæ*, *& alii probi homines noſtri dictam terram iis ex parte noſtra aſſignaverunt & tradiderunt*. Now chooſe you whether this *Walterus filius Allani*, ingroſſed in the boſom of the Charter, in the Nominative Caſe, be the ſon of the firſt or the ſecond *Allan*. I do not much reguard it, though it may be more probable, he was the Son of the firſt *Allan*, and my ſecond *Walter*; becauſe this Kings Uncle, who builded the Abbacie of *Cowper*, might have employed his Couſin the *Steward*, to divide theſe Lands to the *Monks*. And that he hath not the office of *Juſtitiary*, which is here given to one of the Witneſſes, who are *William* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* the Chancellor, *Clement Biſhop* of *Dumblain*; *Patrick* Earl of *Dumbar*, and then follows, as in the Earl of *Sutherlands* Charter *Waltero filio Allani Seneſcallo juſtitiario Scotiæ*. So be the Witneſs and Perſon ingroſt here, one and the ſame, or diſtinct, importeth nothing, ſeing *Fordon* and my three Charters ſtill prove *Allan* a father of a *Walter*, and *Walter* the ſon of an *Allan*, and that in diſtinct times and Generations.

And thus you ſee, Sir, how I have cleared my ſecond *Walter*, and my ſecond *Allan*, the leaving out of whom, has flow'd (I ſuppoſe) from a defect in the firſt concoction, in not exactly obſerving the *Walters* and the *Allans*, which becauſe they could not well clear, they have chooſed rather, firſt to lay theſe two aſide, that they might thereafter be altogether left out. And how ſtrangely does *Skeen* abuſe *his firſt Walter*: For if his *Allan* was with *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, ſurely he could not be

the

Son of his own first *Walter*. For how can it be supposed, that the son of a man contemporary but with *Malcolm* the *Maiden* (who came not to the Crown, till the year 1153) could be of vigour and valour, to undertake so long, tedious, and dangerous a Voyage, to go and fight against the Infidels in *Jurie-land*, Anno 1099. for of what age can you suppose him to have been when he went away, and of what a vigorous constitution behooved his Father to be (if he was the Son of *Fleance*) who was thought fit to be intrusted with such a Military Charge, as to be made in his Office of *Magnus Senescallus*, the Kings Lieutenant and Captain General of all the Forces in the Kingdom, by *Malcolm* the *Maiden*. And the same mistake so pinches another how handsomely to conjoyn *Alexander* the First, with *Allan* the Frist, that he makes *Alexander* to have been begotten the very year his father was at the Siedge of *Antioch*, and counts (as if at Cards) a just hundred, and all made ; making him with a French *Fortaage* to die in the year, 1199. Whereas this my second *Walter*, and second *Allan* (so clearly proven as aforesaid) salves all these Phœnomena from so many idle contradictions and moral impossibilities. And if any man shall here cavil and say, that I cite *Fordon* wrong, when I make him alledge a *Walter* was the founder of *Paisley* when it is known it was *Alexander*, I answer, that *Fordon* in the Liberary of *Edinburgh* will attest me just to him in the Citation. And for *Fordons* Vindication, know, that my second *Walter* witnessed as much true piety at home, as did his wandering Father of blind Zeal abroad, when upon his being advanced to the Office of *Great Steward* of *Scotland*, he erected (if not primarily founded) *Paisley* in a Collegiat Church, considerably doting the same, which the Devotion of his Son *Alexander* extended, and inlarged to an *Abbacie*. And in a Book yet extant in *Pasley* commonly called the Register (not *the Black Book*) of *Pasley*, The first Benefactor next to the Founder of the Abbacie, stands inrolled, *Allan*; which *Allan*, cannot be thought the first *Allan*, Grand-Father to the Founder, but must be the Second *Allan*, Son to *Alexander*, and Father to *Walter* the third, commonly called of *Dundonald*.

As for the other Persons in the Descent, they are all clear by the Histories of the Kingdom, and the Writes of the House of *Lennox*, fully down to our own Memory and Times.

And now from the Premisses, I suppose I have proven my Position, even His *Majesties Descent*, in a true Line Male from Father to Son, (in Princes or true Princely Cadets) from the Loines of the first *Ethodius*, for fifteen hundred years, and that by as strong Proofs, as the nature of the Subject allows, or in such cases are required: For the Descent of the House of *Lennox* (of which was His Majesties great Grand-Father, on the Father side) is uncontroverted from *Walter of Dundonald*, as *Walter of Dundonald* is known (whatever be the persons) from *Bancho*; and to men that are not prejudicat, and who are free to allow *Kings* to be *Gentlemen*, I need to say no more then what is before-mentioned, for *Bancho* from *K. Ethus*, and our Historians are my Vouchers for *Ethus* from *Ethodius*; and when any Genealogy of equal Antiquity shall be better Documented (saving still such as are in the Sacred page) then let not this be believed: But I fancy, some will

will rashly and with confidence enough, say, *what will I do with Queen Mary?* Nay, may even her soul praise God, and her bones rest in peace with those of *Marjory Bruce*, the Daughter of *Allan of Galloway*, *David of Huntingtoun*, and *K. Malcolm the second.* I have not been so idle, as to aver, that in this Descent Male, all his Majesties Progenitors were *Kings*, satisfying my self, that they were either Kings or true Princely, and undoubted Cadets from the Stock Royal. Although I have honoured my self, to deduce in the Tree aftermentioned, all the Kings from *Marjory Bruce* to *Queen Mary*, parallel to those of the House of *Lennox*, that it may appear, it may be more justly said of His Majesty, then of the *Roman*

——.——*Deus est in utroque Parente.*

But when I designed *a Letter*, loe it swells to a *Book*. And trust me, the Singularities in His Majesties Line, might challange a *Volume*; in its Antiquity (whether you view His *Scotish*, *British*, or *Irish* Extract) preferable to any now extant in the *Universe*, unless they go higher then *Fergus*, *Cassibilane*, or *Gathelus*, a Line singularly blest, to show to the World the first two Christian Kings, with the first Christian Emperour: Fortunat even in its losses; for when the straight Line was broke off, to make way to Collaterals, even such lopped Branches Ornamented the Stock with better names then those of Sons and Daughters. Witness that *Great Light*, *Levir Maure*, or the *British Lucius*, with our first *Donald* and *Constantine* the *Great*, a *Briton* by his Mother *Helena*, Daughter to King *Coilus*. To which we may add the Gallantry of *Arthur*, which listed him one of the nine Worthies of the World: The Devotion of *Cadwallader*, with the Chastity of our *Maiden King*. And (to take in both Sexes) their *Virgin Queen*, a Line, which next to that of *Judah's*, stands the liveliest Commentary I know, upon *Solomons*, *Per me Reges regnant*; *a Line*, whose Crowns from *Gathelus* down, are all but acquests in the right of *Succession*, by the common road of Justice and Equity. For whether *Gathelus* entred into *Possessionem vacuam*, or compacted with the Natives, when he first came to *Ireland*, *Quis rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?* But sure his authority was from Heaven. For what Fanatick can have a forehead to refuse, that the Spirit of God assisted the Penman of,

nI faLLat fatVM ſCotI qVoCVnq; LoCatVM
InVenIent LapIDeM regnare tenentVr IbIDeM.

Where the four M's, the two D's, three C's, four L's, six visible V's, with the seven I's, by a strange numerical Prophesie, holds to the Year of the World, 5557. in which was born K. *James* the sixth, who found the fatal Chair at *Westminster* before him. *Fergus* was called in by his Kinsmen the *Scots*, and by them of their own consent, lawfully constitute their King. *Kenneth* the Second did but recover the Possession of the *Pictish* Kingdom, due to him in right of his Grand-mother *Fergusiana*, Sister to *Hungus* King of the *Picts*, after the death of her Nephews *Dorstolorgus* and *Ethanus*: from which Crown, *Kenneth* and his Father *Alpin*, were debarred by Usurpers of the peoples Election. So that *Kenneths* attaining the Crown of the *Picts*, was not a Conquest, but a severe example of Gods just indignation against *Rebells*, in secluding the righteous Heir from his Inheritance, the

Picts

Picts after that, never regaining the face or name of a People, Nation, or Kingdom. And the Monarchy of *England* was no gift of Queen *Elizabeth* to King *James*, because a *Protestant*; but his due Inheritance from K. *Henry* the seventh, by his eldest Daughter, neither were the Queens words, *James of Scots the Protestant*, but *James of Scots my Cousin*. It is true, happy was the Conjunction in that blessed *Peace-maker*, whom Heaven it seems had pre-ordain'd to be *Unionum Unio*, a Pearl of price amongst the other Gems. But woe be to Princes, if Religion, nay rather the Forms, Modes, Sects, conceited Opinions, nicknamed Principles, and parties of assumed Designations, from either the dismembred parts, hems, or Fringes thereof (which in thir dregs of Time, are atomed beyond Arithmetick) come once to be the only Standart of their Scepters. But blessed be God, Crowns of the *Lords* anointing do not so easily totter; consider that strange Eteostick for His Majesties Birth;

eCCe VeL angLorVM aC haCtenVs VLLVs oVat. 1630.

As strangely answered by the *Minted*, *Hactenus Anglorum Nullus*, which equally befool'd the Devils, *Nullus* in his *vir quer alecto*, &c. And *Olvers* more hellish *Nollus*, most strangely suffering an Ecclipse and direful *Synalapha*, more sadly Historical then Grammatically Prosodiacal, before the *English* can scan the *Ovat* of the Restauration.

And if it were lawful for the Subjects of *Charles* to vote their King by pole, would not the *Scots* do injustice to themselves, should they prefer any to one lawfully descended from their own First *Fergus*, when they have here *Lochaber* imped in the House of *Galloway*, by the last *Great Stewart*, and *Marjory Bruce*; And this from *David* of *Huntingtoun*, Ingraft in the Stock by King *David* the First; that by *Banco*, and his Progenitors from K. *Ethus*. And if there be yet any of the *Pictish* Blood remaining, would they refuse a Prince from the Loins of their own King *Hungus-Father*; or if there be beyond *Tweed*, who delight in variety (and sickly Stomachs, nauseat a constant Diet) let them here pick and choose, which of the *Roses* smelleth sweetest, since our *James* the fifth, by his Mother, can furnish them with either. Will they have the *Normans*, from *France*, or from *Flanders*; before, or after the Conquest; Then our *James* the first gives the one by a Daughter of *Somerset*, from *John* of *Ghaunt*, Son to *Edward* the third; and our *Kenneth* the third, by the Daughter of *William Longespee*, does (without a stain) supply them with the other? Would they have the *outlaw'd Edward* restored; our *Malcolme Canmoir* in his *St. Margaret*, hath done it to their hand. Wish they the *Danes*, our *James* the fourth by his Mother may please them. Which of the *Heptarchies* desire they? *Egbert* the Great can direct them. And what *Welshman* will refuse the Ofspring of *Cadwallader*, be he North or South, *Hurfell* will be pleased when *Hur* hears, it is by the Wife of *Fleance*, but the Progeny of *Griffith ap Lewelin ap Sitsylth*, Prince of *Guinedh*, and the Lady *Angharad*, Daughter to *Meredith ap Owen*, Prince of *Debenbarth*. And both the Grand-fathers from *Roderick Mawre* (without a doubt) descended of *Cadwallader*. Or what will they have? the Native *Britons*; Whether from the *Greater Britain*, or the *Lesser Bretagne*? And whether before, or after *Lucius* Legacy to the *Romans*; even

to the Ancestors of the Founder of their beloved *Trinobantin-Caerlud*. *Cadwallader* then from *Constantine*, the Son of *Aldroenus* King of *Armorica* in *France* does for me sufficiently the one, and their own *Geoffrie* of *Monmouth* spares me the labour to do for them the other. Or if yet any wild *Irish*, dare offer to disown the juster and nobler Scepter of *Gathelus*, *Simon Brech*, and *Fergnard* the Father of our *Fergus*, it will be easie to Harp them a-spring upon the harsher Title of Conquest. Yea, is not our Sacred Soveraign a King, who by his Predecessors, through the Mother of the third *English Edward* from the fourth *Philip* of *France*, hath (as the neerest Heir) by the Law of Nations and Nature, a fairer pretence to the *Lillies*, then could in justice the Posterior and more unequitable *Salique* constitution, give either to the House of *Valois* or *Bourbon*.

Yes, a Line Sir, wherein the Prince Regnant for the time, may with greater justice then any Potentate under the great beaming Luminary, without complement, name his Vassalls his Cousins. For let the *Baronages* of his Treeple Crowned Kingdoms be but impartially surveyed; And if they be of any standing, the greatest Nobility they can glory in, will be found soon or sine, derived to them, by some blood-rillet or other, from this very same Royal Fountain. So that the *Peerage* (not to say how dim those Stars hang in the Firmament of the State, during the least Eclipse of the *Monarchical Sun*, as was by a total, both lately and sadly experimented) So that the *Peerage*, I say of *Britain* and *Ireland*, are not faithful to their own honour, if they do not here (even without Oaths of *Allegiance*) acknowledge they owe their Native Prince all Homage and Loyalty, since most of them leave to say, that they are *Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone.*

And yet I know not how it comes to pass, that this very Line seems to have equally intail'd upon it the Fate and Dittling of *Joseph*. For the *Archers* have shot at it; yea, verily the Archers have shot and grieved it sorely, yea, hated it too; but blessed be the God of *Jacob*, its Bow yet abideth in its strength; And by the hands of the Almighty, hath it become a fruitful Bough, whose Branches have run over the Christal Walls of *Albion*. Is it not then the duty, as well as honour, of all in this *British* World, to pray that there may never want one from this Stock,

Dum Secula Mundus
Volvet, qui Patrij Sceptri moderamen habebit.

AND *now, Sir, I have wearied You; but because* Finis *would contradict the* Verse, *Let me tell you, I have caused delineat a Genealogical Tree of this His Majesties Descent from* Ethodius, *(though at first indeed intended only from* Achaius *) which, you, Sir, or any, may, upon a small expence, have either in* Tallyduce, *or* Illuminat *from* George Porteous, *or* Mr. John Shambothy. *And because you know*, & amant alterna Camænæ, *suffer me to close with a few fancies I wrote for the handsome adorning of the* Tree; *Where, should you meet with a critical Word, or bold Construction, any crytical Phrase, or antick Line, you will easily, I hope, excuse it to the antiquity of times, personated speakers, and straitness of the Composure. And seing, such is your perfect knowledge in the minutest and darkest Passages of our Histories, any Explanation would but look like him, who painting an Elephant, was sure to note down the Word, lest the Creature should have been mistaken for a Pig. Some of the Lines, if Communicat, may, belike, chance to rouse and awaken the memories of such as Read our Histories; and to such as care not for them, any Exposition is but needless; to the more knowing Nauseous, and to the Ignorant Superfluous. Seing they are made to the meanest Capacity Intelligible in that account, on the sinister side of the* Tree, *where, if any desire to have it, they may* find, corresponding to the lines on the *Dexter.*

Ethodius *lying at the root, thus divining, and to the second* Fergus *whispering.*

Post *Ferquardiaden* Regem, Rex ordine Quintus
  Quinqueis enumerans, facta notanda cano.
Ah *Druides, Druides!* veniet modo *Purior Ara,*
  Auguror, et *Scotis* singula fausta dabit.
Ponè *Mares* novies quinos, ter quinaque Sæcla,
  Hæres Maternum *Mas Diadema* tenet.
Ut Pravus Patriis *Corbredus* primus in oris,

Romulidas aquilas senserit rapacidas:
Sic Atnepotis Nepos *Nidum*
Cernet hololampum.

Fergus *the second, martially attended with his* Gills, *both* More *and* Beg, *and to* Achius *relating.*

Cimbria me genuit; *Romano* Milite duro,
  Expulsis Patriâ, Patre & Evoque meo.
Sic *Gothicis* armis vici victricibus, ipsam
  Invictam Romam: *Spolia Rara* ferens.
Per varios Casus repetens Patriamq; Laremque;
  Aufondies per Me sanguine tinxit humum.
Majorum Solium conscendens Marte secundo:
  Pristina regna, mea condo, reformo manu.

Albion at terni Gnatus pronepotis adauget,
Artibus innocuis, nobiliore modo.

Achaius sitting in his Robes and glorifying.

Firmavi Regnum, munivi Insignia *Franco*
Fœdere, qu *Scotis Gallia* fida cluat:
Conjuge sed *Pictâ*, Prolem fœlicius auxi;
Quâ mea Posteritas *Pictica* Sceptra geret.

Answered by Fergusiana.

Pictica Progenie, Soror *Hungi*, Sponsa & *Achaii*,
Do dotem *Scotis*, *Pictica* Regna tuis.

The Ghost of Alpin *telling*,

Dum peto Materno *Pictorum* sanguine Regnum,
Alecti, *Alecto* me truce cæde tulit.
At Patris, & Patriæ *Kennetus* Filius ultor;
In *Pictos*, *Scotos* concitat arte nova;
Participemq; facit nostri vel nominis umbram
Vindictæ, manes sic relevando meos.

Kenneth *the second informing.*

Regna negata Patri, fœlici Marte subegi,
Sanguine justa mihi, Sceptra cruore tulit:
Fatalem & Lapidem *Breccus* quem portat *Iernus*,
Quem *Fergusiades* transtulit *Argyllam*;
Carmine Fatidico cælatum, sede decorâ,
(Hinc progressurum) colloco jure *Scona*.

Bancho *rejoycing.*

Quæ mihi Vatidicæ cecinerunt Fata Sorores,
Implebunt natis tempora longa meis.

Mathildis *assuring.*

Scottorum ducens genus alto è sanguine Regum,
Responsi dicar firmior arrha tui.

The wife of Fleance *incouraging.*

——Me pignore crede,
Pignoribus Sceptrum terra *Britannia* dabit.

The Heretrix of Bute pledging.

Ut mihi dos, sic arrha tibi sit parvula *Bota*,
Quod Regnum natis insula tota manet.

The daughter of the Bruce *foretasting.*

———Reddet mea læta Propago,
Vaticinata rata———

Robert *the 2. apprehending.*

Reddita primus Ego, *Banchoni* Gracula vera
Experior, Soboli cætera vota manent.

The confidence of K. James 2. *his* Queen.

Edita Sceptiferis *Anglis*, confido daturos
Saxonidas, stirpi Sceptra aliquando meæ.

Budding in the nosegay of K. James. 4. his Consort.

En tibi jungo *Rosas*, Pronepos *Diademata* junget.

Queen Maries *Ingadgement.*

Fœmina quantumvis ego sum, mihi Mascula virtus;
Atque in *Regina* Regius est animus.
Nec dubitent sexum; Mavortia pectora Scoti;
Regia cum Proles, ecce maritus adest:
Dic quis enim melius *Scotorum* Sceptra gubernet,
Quàm qui de *Scotis* Regibus ortus erat?

Discharged by the Lord Darnly.

Quis thalamum nollet, dederit qui ferre

The Spea of the Heir *of* Cruxtoun, *Wife to* Robert of Torbourtoun.

A *Cruce* designor, jactant & prædia nomen;
Præsagit soboli *crux* mea fausta meæ.

Inlarged by the Dy of the Earl of Lennox, *Wife to* Allan *Lord* Darnly, *who gives a* Saltyre *betwixt four* Roses.

Crux mea juncta *Rosis*, Divinat prospera natis;
Queis manet addenda & *Crux*, aliæq; *Rosæ*:
Quas cum *Rosa* dabunt (ni spes mendacia fefellit)
Tunc mea juncta *Rosis*, *Crux* tua Regna *beat*.

Some-

Somewhat further cleared by the Wife of E. Mathew, *kill'd at Flowdoun.*

En Comitis dicor Conjux, & Regia Neptis;
Regia cui Neptis, Pronurus alma venit:
Abnurus ipsa venit, Regina, & Filia Regis;
Quot titulis à me Quartus adauctus erit?

More nearly and closely illustriated by the Wife of the Earl Regent.

Stat *Rosa* per *Matrem*, redolens in utroq; *parente*,
Quæ conjuncta suis, sex dabit inde *Rosas*:
Inq; Rosa *terna*, quæ *sexta* est quæ quoq; *prima*
Sub *cruce duplari*, *pace* tria Regna *beet*.

All *authorized by the Confession of* K. James *the sixth.*

——————de *me*, præsagia Vates.
Quot cecinere olim.——————

Secured by the good fortune of His Majesty.

Sacra Jovi Quercus, Quercusq; cacumina *Carlo*
Sacra manent, Arbor servit utriq; *Deo*.

Fortified by the Duke of Albanie.

Solus Ego, nullâ qui interveniente puellâ
Proximus a latere existo——————;

Supported by the Prince of Orange.

——————Ego perq; *puellas*
Proximus a Socero——————

Strengthned by the Queen of Spain.

Alter Avus *Justus*, *Martyr* laudatur & alter,
Catholica ex meritis dicar an esse Patrum?

Propped by the Glosse of the Palatine.

Imperij *Dapifer Romani*, duco *Stuartam*;
Quippe *Senescalli* munus utriq; favet.

Verdant in the hopes of Lady Ann.

Pô. Regia Virgo, rubens; pro Me, *Tu* fare *Poeta*
Ni fallat votum, *Regia Mater* eris. *Mostly*

Moſtlie thus recapitulate by Achaius *to the King.*

Carole de nobis per tot prognate Nepotes,
Qui regis imperio Regna *Britanna* tuo.
Quæ tritavi quarti profert, Abaviq; Atavique,
Antiquus Genius, paucula mente tene.
En ego poſt decies ſenos, Rex ordine quintus,
Tranſmiſſa a Proavis, *Scotica* Sceptra ferens:
In ſolio Sobolem, ſtabilivi *fœdere* duplo;
Contulit hoc *Francus*, contulit illud *Hymen*.
Teutonico Carlo, pepegi quæ fœdera, *Scotis*,
(Dum tantum *Scoti*) continuata manent.
Perq; faces Thalami, confirmat Sceptra Nepoti,
Tum *Themis*, & *Mavors*, *Pictica* jure pari.
Pectore quam læto, Suſcepit verba *Sororum*
Lochabrius Bancho, de Trinepote Nepos.
Cambria quam *Scoto* bene nupſit, *Neſta* *Fleancho*,
Conſignans Soboli Sceptra *Britanna* meæ,
Ille *Seneſcallus*, *Bruſeâ* de Matre *Roberius*,
Promiſſum toties en Diadema capit.
Ecce *Caledonio* Tribulo, mage *Gallica* vilent
Lilia; *Saxonicæ* quæ minus apta *Roſæ*.
Darnlæo Agnato, nubens Cognata *Maria*;
Fortius en firmat Regna *Britanna* ſuis.
Aſpice quàm placidè contendunt Sceptra *Beato*
Reddere *pacifico*, Martia Regna tria.
Hinc gratus recolens, mi *Carle* *Secundè*, Secunda
Numina, quæ ſolio Te impoſuere tuo.
Forſitan & dices, ſunt Numina fauſta *Stuartæ*
Stirpi; quin potius dicito, fauſta Meæ.
Nam meus eſt *Dorus*, *Garethus*, *Bancho*, *Mathildis*:
Et mea dicetur tota *Stuarta* Domus.
Quid, Mea dicetur? dicetur & ipſa *Gathelis*
Progenies: a quo ducimus omne genus.
Utpote *Ferguſius* Scotorum, natus *Ierne*
Ferquardo, Nobis ſanguinis autor erat,
Cui fuit in Proavis Gentis pater; ille *Gathelus*,
Celtiber; *Heſperio* littore ductor ovans.
Regibus his Atavis nulli tu *Carle* Secundus:
Quot Faſces Generi Fata dedere tuo.
Sceptraq; ſic Sceptris, cumulavit Conditor Orbis,
Cœlitus ut dicas, hæc data Regna tibi.

FINIS.

A

BRIEF NARRATIVE

Of that

Stupendious Tragedie

Late intended to be Acted by the Satanical *SAINTS* of these Reforming Times.

Humbly presented to the KINGS most *EXCELLENT MAJESTY.*

ALSO

An Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Tryal and Condemnation of *Thomas Tonge, George Phillips, Francis Stubbs, James Hind, John Sallers,* and *Nathaniel Gibbs,* At *Justice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily, London, Decemb.* 11. 1662.

Together with the Confessions, Speeches and Prayers of

George Phillips, | *Nathaniel Gibbs,*
Thomas Tonge, | *Francis Stubbs.*

at the place of Execution, on *Munday* Decemb. 22. 1662.

Exactly taken in Short-Hand Characters, by the same Person that wrote the late Kings Iudges Tryals.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year 1663.

Licensed and Entred

THE NARRATIVE PRESENTED TO The Kings most Excellent Majestie.

May it please your Majesty,

ON Sunday October *the* 12*th* 1662. *I came to* London *for dispatch of my own private Affairs: On* Thursday *following, the* 16*th of the same month, walking through* Cheap-side, *I met one commonly called by the name of Captain* Baker, *then living in* East-smith-field, *formerly of* New-England; *but more lately promoted by* Hugh Peters (*not long since Hanged and Quartered for many Treasons*) *to be one of* Cromwels *Yeomen of his Guard, we remained not long in the Street, but he gave me an invitation to bestow upon me my welcom to Town, which I accepted; and by that means I had the opportunity of Discourse. After we had saluted each other, he proceeded to ask me what News from the Country; I told him we heard little; In the Town, he replyed, there was some Stirring, and that he had Matters of Concernment in hand to follow, with several others, who did hope ere long to be delivered from that Trumpery of* Rome *that did daily incroach upon the Nation. Some more words to this effect passed from him; I considering what a desperate Enemy to the King, and all the Ministry of the Land, this man had been; and though he was but an illiterate and rough-hewn fellow, yet in* New-England *he might be sufficiently possessed with villanous Principles; and I knowing also, that the chiefest Designers against the Kings Majesty had confidence enough to intrust him with matters of moment: upon this, I modestly put my self upon the sifting of him. He being not suspitious in the least of my fidelity, and knowing how forward my Father had been to promote that Devil, that* Geneva *God-Old-Cause; and supposing that I was a Non-Conformist, because I was no in a Canonical Habit, he at last told me, That before a few Weeks were expired, he did not doubt but that both of us should see the slaughter and confusion of those Rogues at* Whitehall; *And that it did grieve his heart, to see that Villain (meaning the King) and Prince* Rupert *to ride not long since through the City, with a few men with them (which was when (as* Baker *said) He rode a Hunting,) when the said* Baker, *would have been one of the Twenty that should have murdered Him, and have delivered this Nation from the Tyranny of an Outlandish Dog. I perceiving the temper of the man to be so high, thought he would not be so bold, unlesse he had some perswasions that the GODLY PARTY should Once more reign over thi kingdom: Whereupon I began to undervalue his Assertion of Confounding the Rogues at* Whitehall; *and certified him, there was no such Expectation in the Country, but the Parliament Party there were heartless; only this, that our Eyes were upon the City; and if any hopes of Recovery were here amongst the HONEST PEOPLE, we should gladly set our Hearts and Hands to their assistance; with many words to this purpose.*

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time, he did not doubt, but he should meet with some friends, that in these matters would give me better satisfaction; I answered him, I had not leisure then, but on the morrow, or any other time, I would gladly accompany them, and understand somwhat of those Negotiations; because it concerned us all to yield our best Council and assistance to that work; whereupon he promised to bring some persons with him suddenly to my Lodging for that purpose.

October 17. Upon the Friday following towards night, the said Baker came to my Lodging in Smithfield, and brought three other persons with him enquiring for me; but it being late before I came home, they departed: and Baker with two of the aforesaid three promised to come early on the Saturday morning, which two persons accordingly came; but Baker failing, and they being not acquainted with me, they let me depart the House after I came out of my chamber without the least Greeting.

Upon the Munday following being the 20th of October, early in the morning the said Baker visited me, excusing his neglect on the Saturday before, telling me that he had brought 3. persons of Eminency the last Friday night, to give me some intelligence of matters in hand, but they having not the happinesse to see me then, had engaged him to come this morning to me, desiring I would come with him to the Exchange, and in the New-England walk he should find those three persons waiting for us.

I consented, asking their quality and their names. He Answered that one of them was a choyce person, Zealous and active in the Cause, which was Mr. Edward Riggs, formerly Chaplain to Blake; the other was Bradely, formerly a faithfull Messenger to Cromwels Council of State, the other was one Hill a Drawer of Cloth in Coleman-street and a Church Member.

All which persons betwixt twelve and one I met on the Exchange; assoon as I beheld their Aspect, I presently adjudged them of that party. After Baker had informed them that I was as good as themselves, and my Father a publick Person that may Advance the Cause in the Country, we saluted, and all of us Resolved to have some Godly Communication, at the Sign of the Ship by the East India House in Leaden Hall street.

The man of the house, as the said Hill the Drawer of Cloth informed, though he was a Trained Souldier, yet was truly honest to the Godly Party.

And our Conference there, was all of Gods Glory; in Zeal we were up to the Eyes; and I began exactly to speak their Language; and especially to fit Riggs with expressions sutable to his Tone, because I found him the most intelligent person amongst them, and the Darling of the Churches. After much circumlocution I had insinuated into Riggs a good opinion of me, that our Souls were as David and Jonathans; Then downright we came to the businesse, and Riggs assured me; (I having certified him of our ignorance of it in the Country, yet we were unwilling not to be numbered among the Repairers of Zion, to look on and not help our Brethren.) Then he was sick untill he had satisfied me of the happy reconciliation of all the Sects and Churches; and that Six most excellent Persons, wishing well to all Parties, and tender of every little fry of Locusts, were elected by general consent to manage and contrive the Design of reducing us to a Free-State, and to Surprise the King in Whitehall, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Duke of Albemarle, and Major General Sir Richard Brown. And that they had protested secrecy by lifting up their hands to Almighty God; and they were resolved to expedite the work

And to that end several Messengers, being Church-members, were directed into the Country; and all persons of that Interest were resolved to acquiesce in what they should Act, and prepare as those Six should direct.

To insist much on particulars, Riggs *with the rest were somewhat shy that afternoon; but we appointed to meet on the morrow at the same place of the* Exchange.

Tuesday *I met* Riggs, Bradley, Baker, James Hill, *and to our goodly society came one Capt.* Brown *a Sea Captain dwelling in* VVapping, *and* James Hinde *a Gunner to a ship. It was long, because so much company was there, before our good Discourse of the Work of God begun; yet at last* Riggs *could no longer detain it from his new Brother: but taking me aside, assured me that this Work was long intended, that Intelligence came in agreeable to expectation from the Counties, that he the said* Riggs *was intended once to be one of those six; but he had engaged himself in businesse in a Brewhouse in Town that he could not defer; but he was very instrumental in encouraging honest men to the Work, and in satisfying the Fifth-monarchy men, who would have undertaken the Work themselves; and then 'twas his Work with several others, to put a stop to it, untill all parties were agreed; and though the Presbyter would not be active, yet he doubted not, but many of them were consenting to the Work. But if I would meet him, the said* Riggs, *on the* VVednesday *night late, I should have better information; for the six persons in Council sate so obscure, not twice in a place, all disguized, and were resolved to act it so secret, that no person, Friend or Foe, except two persons, should know where or when they met, or whom they were. But Lieutenant* Strange *would come to town that* VVednesday, *and he, the said* Riggs, *should meet him, and give me full information. For the meeting I gave him my faithfull promise, and this time I had understanding of somewhat formidable; then I began to consider with my self the consequence of this Design, and how desperate the Rogues were in their Attempts, that here was a full Combination, and I believed the zeal of these Rogues was such, that they had no Design of Trepanning me. I consulted my self how I should proceed wisely and timely enough for their Discovery. I presently meditated, that this was to be acted in the City, and that the Kings Majesty had intrusted Major General* Brown *with the care of the City, and that he was of an active spirit, and quick in counsel, I immediately attended him, and had sutable Instructions from him, where by the next day, being* Thursday, *I was as full of matter for them as they were of villany to their Prince and Country.*

But VVednesday *night I attended* Riggs *for the News that* Strange *should impart, and then I was informed by him, that some Moneths since there was a* Southampton *man that had offered his service to the Churches in* London, *with a new Model of Government for their Saintships, when they had rooted out the* Amorites *from amongst them; and also a Plot for them to act, whereby they should ease themselves from the Government of that Antichristian thing called Monarchy. But his counsel was rejected, as the Committee of Safety rejected Sir* Henry Vanes; *whereupon he sold his Estate and took ship for* Holland, *but now Mr.* Rogers *the Minister was sent to reinvite him, and several Army-officers resident there, for their assistance here in this blessed Work: exceeding earnest I was to know those six persons in Council,* Riggs *could not fully resolve, but he was sure (though he heard others nominated) yet* Philip Nye, Lockier *the Minister, and* Anthony Palmer *the Minister, with Col.* Danvers *and Lieutenant* Strange, *were very active in it; he did believe he had pitched upon some of them, and*

that they had sat lately at the VVheat-sheaf in Thames-street concerning the busines.

Thursday being October the 23d. their Brother failed not to meet them at the Ship in Leadenhall-street.

Then in short, from Riggs and Hinde I was confidently assured VVindsor Castle was their own, 500. men were fixed in and about VVindsor, the Serjeants and Head Gunner were Right Boyes, and Captain Tonge had been with the Serjeants there, and brought a Letter to be communicated to the Council from the Serjeants of their fidelity. That all the Churches in London were concerned in it, that now their Money did fly, and the Churches were able to raise twelve thousand, if not twenty thousand, to pay their grand Adversaries in VVhitehall, at Somerset-house, and VVorcester-house, and to be sure, never a Lawn Sleeve or Circingle-man should have a hole to hide their heads in this Nation.

Four hundred Assistants, Riggs affirmed, in Dorsetshire, they were ascertained of, and that several Cases of Pistols were sent down by a Carrier into that Country.

Riggs acquainted us then, that in a Warehouse in Crutchet-fryers, Arms were lodged, and there five hundred had been dispersed to those that were not able to buy them: that they intended to make a desperate Assault in VVhitehall, and one party should attempt it by coming in at the Gate into St. James his Park, to assault my Lord Duke of Albemarle, whom they must presently dispatch, because, when the King was destroyed, he had power as Lord General to raise Forces by his Commission in any part of the Nation.

Also when I put the question concerning the King, what we should do with him? Riggs answered, That then they were resolved to give no quarter to any body.

Likewise, and it shall please Your Majesty, that Ludlow was to be General, and the same Law he should have had; the same, the best or highest of their enemies should have. Many Friends in Kent looked for the blessed hour; and when I asked who should command them there, Riggs answered, Col. Kenrick, for he was sure the Council had sent him Instructions yesterday by a Messenger, that he had sent to them for the same. Also, that there lodged a Lieutenant at the Wheat-sheaf in Thames-street, that had 500 men at command for this work, he being formerly a Sea Commander, and was safe in that Lodging, because it was Lamberts mans house, who was their trusty and wellbeloved friend.

The same night Baker, formerly mentioned, brought into my company, one Hayward a pitifull young Porter, that plieth about Bow-lane end, in Cheapside, that was formerly of Okeys Regiment, and that affirmed to me, three or four and twenty of their Cheapside Porters, would knock it soundly, when the day of rising was.

Likewise Riggs asserted, that one Ward a Chandler in East-Smithfield, did furnish the Magazines with much Powder, and sent it by honest Porters in Baskets in white Sheets.

Likewise that that day Mr. Brooks the Minister was numbring out the faithfull-fighting Brethren in his Congregation, and those that could not help with their holy hands, must with their purse: And also, that Riggs was positive, that if they could have gotten Kiffing and the Churches to have expended their money, the work had proceeded last year.

Friday the 24. instant, at our Meeting at the Feathers Tavern in Fishstreet, there being Riggs, Bradley, Baker, and my self, I pressed hard according to the counsell of

Sir

Sir Richard Brown *for Arms, for thirty men I had made sure of, which Arms were promised me, because I would know where their Magazine was. Answer was given by* Riggs, *That he had proposed it to Captain* Tonge, *Strong-water-seller in Tower-Ditch. And* Tonge *replyed, That no Arms would be delivered me, unless I was a Church-member. But* Riggs *and my self, meeting one* Sellers *on the* Exchange, Riggs *presently acquaints him with my desire.* Sellers *replyed, That all, which were five or six hundred, were delivered out last night, and that forty of their Friends departed last night unfurnished; but in three or four dayes some more would be brought to the Magazine at* Crutcher-Friers, *and then I should have them.*

Some persons, who are Citizens, were discovered this day: but at night, Riggs, Ward *the Chandler, Lt.* Stubbs, Bradley, Biker, *and* James Hind, *were all associated at Captain* Tonges *house in Tower-Ditch;* Ward *being a cunning St. Rogue was reserved as I heard after, because I was a stranger to him: But* Tonge *couraged us that one Captain* Elton *told him, that Lieutenant* Strange *came out of the Country last night, from lodging the horses in several by-places, and corresponding with several Agents there; and the work proceeded gallantly in City and Country; and that for 15 miles round the City, all their friends were ready, waited but for the knowledge of the day. And for the surprizal of the Tower,* Tonge *said, he had fixed many of the Red Coats to open a back Gate, and with Blunderbushes to enter. Also that Captain* Leigh *had also been with* Tonge *last night, and assured him, that those that sate in counsel, intended speedy action.*

Saturday, Octob. 25. Bradley *and my self, visited* Riggs *at his house, and there he had this comfort for us, That the Commanders were all nominated;* Ludlow *certainly to be their General: That Captain* Spencer *and* Taverner, *formerly Governors of the Castles in* Kent, *commanding the Sea, had assured the Council of the surprizal of those Castles by their interest there. Then was several Copies of the Letter given forth by direction of the Council, to be noised through the City, the Contents of which Letter was,* That the Forces and Papists at *Whitehall,* did intend a massacre in the City of all the Protestant party: *The copy whereof I have.*

Riggs *then assured us, A man that he knew was to be assistant at the assault at* Whitehall, *that would bring the party to the Treasuries at* Whitehall, *and elsewhere. But for money, large sums were in Bank of their own, notwithstanding that, all Treasuries must be seized; and at* Whitehall, *with my Lord Chancellor and his Attendants at* Worcester-house; *also* St. James, Somerset-house, *no quarter should be given: But their indignation swelled highly against my Lord General* Monk, *and Sir* Richard Brown, *they should die (who ever escaped) without mercy; and then when Sir* Richard *was slain, the City was their own.*

Captain Tonge *this day certified us, that* Strange *was again gone into the Country, but his return was this night, then more particular news we should have: But to morrow being Sunday, at the several meetings they intended to whisper the appointed time of Insurrection to each other.*

Riggs *then affirmed with* Tonge, *that many new Blunderbushes were made for the Design; and that they had Head-peeces, Back and Brest, for Two thousand Horsmen; and that Capt.* Leigh *told him, the said* Riggs, *that they were not to seek as to the work in* Ireland; *that special care was taken by the Reverend Council for that affair.*

Helmes *the Minister, formerly of* Winchcomb *in* Glocestershire, *was discovered by* Riggs *to be active in this design.*

This

This night Tonge *boasted to me, that he was to go to a Cane-man, who had bought Arms for six men for this design, at his own cost and charge.*

Sunday and Munday last, our Information from them was, That all the Horse that formerly departed the Town, were to return by Munday night; that their Declaration was ready, founded on Righteous Principles, to the compleat satisfaction as much as the Holy Sisters.

And on the Munday, Riggs *and my self saluted Serjeant* Phillips, *Serjeant to Col.* Whales *Company of the Militia Bands, for his good Service on the Sunday morning, in sending Intimation to several places where the Godly had their Meetings of their intended surprisal, by the Major General; which Sergeant, as* Tonge *and* Riggs *informed me, was to furnish the Party with the Word that were to secure the City; and upon the Sunday when he was on the Guard, he wished their Party were up; for he thought a few would do the work. The Arms that* Tonge *and* Hind *hath provided for this design, as they say, I have seen.*

And one Captain Brown, *a Sea Captain, must needs discover himself also; that he had sold his Ship, on purpose, that he may fight stoutly in this work on Land.*

Tuesday Octob. 28. *Our Intelligence from* Riggs, *and one* Beazley *by* Fleetbridge *a Chandler, that the Council was dissolved, 2000 Horse came into the Town yesterday, that Wednesday night was originally intended to be the fatal night, although they had now fixed another time.*

On Tuesday night late, I was carried by Riggs *and* Beazley, *with Lt.* Stubbs *into* Black Friers, *into a House, the Sign thereof I know not, but the House I know, where we had Intelligence from one* Gibbs, *and other persons, their Names I could not learn, that the Council were to meet again Wednesday morning. Some intelligence the Council had of Arms and Ammunition, the City had provided in the several Halls; and because it was commonly reported about the Town, the Lord Mayors day at night would be the time; whereupon they all supposed* Alhallows *Even; and those persons that were with us, were somewhat assured would be the time; and we were all desired to prepare against that time. There and then* Gibbs, Riggs, *Captain,* Thomas *in* Shoo-lane, *Lt.* Stubs, *and three other persons, assured us, that that Even, or neer, would be the time we should cut off Root and Branch, rid our selves, as their expression was, of Kings, Queenes, Dukes, Bishops; all should go one way, there should be no running beyond Sea, or Parleys there; but a total destruction of King, Lords, Bishops and Gentry, was the determination of them there, and as they affirmed, of all the rest engaged in the Work.*

The several dayes Intelligence, I committed to faithful Sir Richard Brown; *from whom I received full instruction every night.*

On Tuesday, Sir Richard Brown, *and Sir* John Robinson, *ordered me to go along with the Soldiers to take* Riggs, Hind, Tonge, Stubbs, *&c.* White *the Caneman, who were all apprehended accordingly.*

William Hill.

An Impartial Narrative of the Indictment, Arraignment, Tryal, and Sentence of Thomas Tonge, George Phillips, Francis Stubbs, James Hind, John Sallers, *and* Nathaniel Gibbs, *at* Justice-Hall *in the* Old-Baily, *London*, Decemb. 11. 1662.

THE Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being read, and Proclamation made the Grand Jury were sworn, whose Names are,

Arthur Jourdan	*George Compere*	*William Standen*
John Freestone	*Isaac Rutter*	*John Worth*
Thomas Fawson	*Chr. Rigby*	*John Rigby*
Thomas Coney	*Rowland Steed*	*Leonard Staples.*

And several witnesses being called, there appeared *William Hill*, *Edward Riggs*, *Tyler*, *Godolphin*, *Bonfoy*, and several others; who being all sworn, were directed up to the Grand Jury.

After some hours examination of the Witnesses, and consultation, the Grand Jury returned the Indictment *Billa vera.*

Clerk of the Peace. You good men of the City of *London*, summoned to appear here this day, to enquire between our Soveraign Lord the King, and the Prisoners that are and shall be at the Bar, answer to your Names as you shall be called, every one at their first Call, upon pain and peril that shall fall thereon; Good men of the Ward of, *&c.*

Serjeant *Glyn*, Serjeant *Maynard*, His Majesty's Serjeants at Law, Sir *Jeoffry Palmer* Attorney General, Sir *Heneage Finch*, His Majesty's Solicitor, Serjeant *Keeling*, His Majesty's Serjeant, Sir *Edward Turner*, taking their places in Court.

The Prisoners were commanded to be set to the Bar.

Clerk of the Peace. Thomas Tonge, hold up thy hand; *George Philips*, hold up thy hand; *Francis Stubbs*, hold up thy hand; *James Hinde*, hold up thy hand; *John Sallers*, hold up thy hand; and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, hold up thy hand. Which they severally doing, their Indictment was read, the substance whereof is as followeth, *viz.*

YOu the Prisoners that were last called to the Bar, stand indicted in *London*, by the names of *Thomas Tonge*, late of *London* Distiller; *George Phillips*, late of *London* Yeoman; *Francis Stubbs*, late of *London* Cheese-monger; *James Hind*, late of *London* Gunner; *John Sallers*, late of *London* Compass maker, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, late of *London* Felt-maker; for that you six, together with divers others, particularly in the Indictment mentioned, and others not yet taken, as false Traytors to the Illustrious, Serene, and most Excellent Prince *Charles* the Second, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland* King, Defendor of the Faith, *&c.* minding, and with all their force intending the Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom of *England* to disturb, and our said Soveraign Lord the King to death and final destruction to bring and put, the 31*th.* day of *October*, in the Fourteenth year of the Reign of our said Soveraign Lord King

Charles the Second, traiterously did compass, imagine and intend the killing of our said Soveraign Lord the King, and the antient Government of this Kingdom of *England* to change [as in the Indictment more particularly was mentioned.

What sayest thou *Thomas Tonge*, art thou guilty of this High Treason in manner and form as thou standest indicted, or not guilty?

Tonge. Not guilty.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Tonge. By God and my Countrey.

Clerk. What sayest thou *George Phillips*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Phill. I am guilty in hearing, and not discovering of it.

Clerk. Art thou guilty of this High Treason whereof thou standest indicted?

Phill. I am guilty, but not in manner and form as I stand indicted; I have heard the words, as I formerly confessed to Sir *Richard Brown*: not guilty, as to the manner and form.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Phill. By God and my Countrey.

Clerk. How sayest thou *Francis Stubbs*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Stub. Not guilty.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Stub. By God and my Countrey.

Clerk. What sayest thou *James Hind*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Hind kneeling down, and discovering much penitency, answered, I am guilty, and humbly beg mercy of his Majesty.

Court. Record his Confession.

Clerk. How sayest thou *John Sallers*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Sall. Not guilty.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Sall. By God and the Countrey.

Clerk How sayest thou *Nathaniel Gibbs*, art thou gulty? *&c.*

Gibbs. Not guilty.

Cler. How wilt thou be tried?

Gibbs. By God and the Countrey.

Court. Carry up *Hind* to the Gaole.

And the rest standing at the Bar, silence was commanded.

Cler. *Thomas Tonge*, *George Phillips*, *Francis Stubbs*, *John Sallers*, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*; You the Prisoners that were last called to the Bar, those men that you shall hear called, are to pass upon trial for your several lives and deaths; if you or any of you will challenge them or any of them, you must challenge them when they come to the Book to be sworn, before they be sworn.

Edmond Butler.

Tonge. I challenge him, but afterwards admitted him.

Clerk. *Edmond Butler*, *Clement Punge*, *George Dixon*, *Samuel Pain*, *John Bagnal*, *John Gourney*, *William Gayler*, *Ralph Silverton*, *William Dudley*, *Joseph Drake*, *John Peake* and *Robert Morrice* were severally sworn in this manner; Lay your hand on the Book, look upon the Prisoners: You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance make between our Soveraign Lord the King and the Prisoners at the Bar, whom you shall have in charge according to your Evidence. So help you God.

Clerk. Count these *Cryer*. *Edmond Butler*; *Cryer*, one. *Clement Punge*, two, *&c.* Twelve good men and true, stand together and hear your Evidence.

Clerk. *Cryer*, make Proclamation.

Cryer.

Cryer. O Yes, If any one can inform my Lords the Kings Juſtices, the Kings Serjeants, or the Kings Attorney, before this Inqueſt be taken, let them come forth and they ſhall be heard; for now the Priſoners ſtand at the Bar upon their Deliverance; and all others that are bound by Recognizance to give Evidence againſt any of the Priſoners at the Bar, come forth and give Evidence, or elſe you forfeit your Recognizance; and all manner of perſons that were ſummoned upon the Jury, and have not yet been ſworn, they are diſcharged, and may depart the Court.

Clerk. *Tho. Tonge*, Hold up thy hand, and ſo to the reſt of them at the Bar: You of the Jury, Look upon the Priſoners, and hearken to their Cauſe, you ſhall underſtand that they ſtand indicted in *London* by the names of *Tho. Tonge*, late of *&c.* and ſo as in the Indictment aforementioned, who together with *James Hind* who ſtands convicted by his own confeſſion, and the reſt alſo aforementioned, and ſo reads the Indictment again.

Upon which Indictment they have been Arraigned, and thereunto have ſeverally pleaded, Not Guilty; and for their Trial have put themſelves upon God and the Country, which Country you are; Your charge is to enquire whether they be guilty of the High Treaſon in manner and form as they ſtand Indicted, or not guilty; If you find that they or any of them are guilty, you ſhall enquire what Goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements, they or any of them had at the time of committing the ſaid Treaſon, or at any time ſithence: If you find that they are not guilty, you ſhall enquire whether they or any of them did flee for it; if you find that they fled for it, you ſhall enquire of their Goods and Chattels, *&c.* as [if you had found them guilty; if you find that they are not guilty, nor that they did flee; Say ſo, and no more, and hear your Evidence.

Sir *Edward Turner.* MAy it pleaſe your Lordſhips, and you Gentlemen that are ſworn of this Jury, The 5. Priſoners at the Bar by the name of *T. Tonge*, *G. Phillips*, *F. Stubbs*, *J. Sallers*, and *N. Gibbs*, do ſtand indicted for that they as falſe Traytors, together with ſeveral other perſons mentioned in the Indictment, the 31. of *Octob.* laſt, did, in the Pariſh of St. *Michaels* in the Ward of *Cornhill London*, aſſemble and meet together, conſult, contrive and deſign to levy War againſt the King, to ſubvert and change the Government as it is now eſtabliſhed, to depoſe and kill the King; and in order to effect this, they did likewiſe then and there agree and deſign to ſeize and take in their hands, the Kings royal Palace called *Whitehall*, where the King reſides, for this they have been indicted, arraigned, and all theſe five have ſeverally pleaded not Guilty: if we prove them guilty, you muſt find them ſo.

Serjeant *Maynard.* GEntlemen of the Jury, you have heard the Indictment read, you have heard the ſubſtance of it opened, it is ſhort in words, but of as high conſequence as any thing can be; I ſhall open the Particulars of that Evidence, that we conceive will be made good by the Oaths of Witneſſes to be produced to you: You ſee here what the Indictment is, I ſhall inſiſt upon

theſe particulars; which I ſhall open and make good to you; firſt, what was their Deſign, next what was their means of accompliſhment, what encouragements they uſed one to another, and what colours they put upon this wicked action; For the firſt, Gentlemen, I ſhall begin at the higheſt, higher no man can go in this world, that is, to deſign and compaſs, to contrive to put the King himſelf to death, to ſeize his perſon; ſome of them called it Securing; you know the Engliſh of that, A King ſecured; We will go further, for we ſhall prove to you the perſon that with his own wicked Hand undertook the Slaughter and Murder of the King; he did contrive how he might do it, ſomtimes when the King was performing an office of Piety to viſit his Mother, other times when he ſhould recreate himſelf by Hunting; higher then this they could not go, and this they coloured over with Religion; this mercifull King that had pardoned his People beyond their own deſires, and contended to do it; this King they would murder. Had there been no more, it had been exceeding hainous; but they went further, their malice reſted not upon His Perſon, but the Family, the noble and excellent Duke of *York* is deſigned to be ſecured likewiſe, and uſed like his Brother; not they only, they went further, the whole Nobility was in deſign; not (Gentlemen) that every one of theſe before you uſed theſe Expreſſions, but they and their Complices, ſome one and ſome another Expreſſion; but all joyned in this, to deſtroy the King and his Family root and branch, that was their Expreſſion: King, his Family, Nobility, nay, go down to the Gentry, and it ceaſed not there, they go to the Clergy, as one of the Priſoners at the Bar (as you will hear) did expreſs himſelf, I think it was *Stubbs*, that there ſhould be never a Lawn-Sleeve, never a Circingler ſhould have a hole to hide his head in.

Stubbs. I never opened my mouth to that purpoſe.

Serj. *Maynard.* That will be left to proof, I undertake not of my ſelf to prove this, but to open it, let the Witneſſes ſpeak. In diſcourſe ſome went further than that, whoſoever would not joyn with them in their Deſign (it was one *Strange*) was an Enemy; and thereupon one *Cole*, who is gone, deſerted them, though he was contented to have the King murdered, the Nation ruined, yet would not agree in that Principle. To accompliſh this, we ſhall prove to you they did treat of levying a War, that among themſelves it was given out that Arms were provided, ſome delivered; and their Deſigns to raiſe Money, ſeizing all the Treaſury at *Whitehall*, *Worceſter-houſe*, and the Chamber of *London*; to ſeize the perſon of the noble Duke of *Albemarle*, and all about him, and Quarter to be given to none, that was their Expreſſi-

ons.

ons. They did give out among themſelves (for a while there was ſome difference among theſe Foxes, whoſe Tails were tied together, and had fire in them) and *Tonge* told them (as we ſhall prove) that all parties were now agreed and would joyn; they had framed Declarations to juſtifie their proceedings, framed Papers to raiſe a Mutiny among the Mariners, and encouraged them to joyn with them, this will be proved: for their means, *Phillips* at the Bar undertakes to procure the Word that the Guard in the City had, ſo to betray them. There was a Deſign made for ſeizing the Tower, ſeveral men appointed for that purpoſe, they and their Complices were to come there with Papers in their hands as if they were Mariners, and had Accompts to make up, theſe were to go up to thoſe that ſate there to finiſh Accompts. To encourage themſelves they gave out that they had dealt with the Soldiers at *Windſor*, and ſecured that Caſtle; if this be proved to you there can nothing be higher; There was this one pretence, it was given out (and perchance the rumours of the City are come to your ears) that they had deſigned a Day for the Execution of this Miſchief; ſeverall dayes were appointed; one on the Lord Maiors Day, another on *Allhallows* Eve: They gave out by a feigned Letter that there would be a Maſſacre by the *French* and *Papiſts* of the *Proteſtants*; this was to raiſe a fear and diſcontent among the Nation, to induce them to joyn when this Deſign ſhould be attempted. Gentlemen of the Jury, had they gone on in this wicked purpoſe, having poſſeſſed the people with theſe feats, who could have told how to behave himſelf? And it ſeems ſtrange and wonderfull, eſpecially looking upon the perſons, men of little conſideration, deſpicable men, and who live under the Mercies of ſo good a Soveraign, that they ſhould take ſuch a Deſign in their hearts, and undertake the performance: Though the Spear hath not entred into the Sides of our Soveraign, yet it muſt needs crown his Head with abundance of Thorns, that ſuch people ſhould be deſperately wicked. But we ſhall call our Witneſſes, and when you have heard this proved, we cannot be ſo uncharitable to think you ſhall need any further Aggravation, or doubt of your giving a Verdict againſt ſuch Miſcreants as theſe are.

Sir Jeoffry Palmer. THeſe few Priſoners at the Bar were not all in this Contrivance, though we have not all their names; but in the Evidence you will hear, there was a Council of 40 and then of 6. but none diſcovered. Theſe 6. acted and infuſed into theſe and divers others what they intended, and then broke up, and gave out all was ready, and would be done on ſuch a day. We ſhall not trouble the Jury with giving evidence particularly againſt theſe men, they are joyned and knit together in one Cauſe. But hear the Evidence.

Williams

William Hill, *Edward Riggs*, and one *Bradley* were Sworn.

Council. Mr. *Hill*, Speak your knowledge in this buſineſſe, to my Lords and the Jury.

Mr. *Hill.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhips, about the middle of *October* laſt, I met *John Baker*, one that is now Indicted, he was a Captain formerly called; I met him in *Cheapſide*; he meeting me (after a Salutation) invites me to drink with him; I went into a houſe with him. When I was with him he began to ask me what News there was in the Countrey, I told him I had little to inform him. He told me, if I would ſtay a while he would tell me ſome. I asked him of what nature; ſaies he, Not long agoe the King went a Hunting, ſent ſome Stags to Sir *John Robinſon*, now the Lord Mayor, and went but with a ſmall guard, and I could have been one of the twenty that would have ſlain that Outlandiſh Dog; then ſaid I, Mr. *Baker*, that's nothing to me; but what other news have you? Sayes he, I know thou art right, and I know your Father; there is ſomthiug on foot in the City, and if you will meet to morrow, I will bring ſome perſons to you that will give you information. Sir, ſaid I, underſtanding it of dangerous conſequence, and willing to get it out, I will meet you, and we agreed to meet the next morning; that morning 3. perſons came early to my quarters, *Hill* the Cloth-drawer, Mr. *Bradley*, and this Mr. *Riggs*, he appointed them to meet him there, but failing himſelf, they being ſtrangers ſaid nothing to me then, and ſo I departed and left them a drinking; the morrow after he himſelf came to my Lodgings, fetches me out of my bed, and tells me he had appointed ſome perſons on the Exchange to give me an account; I went with him thither, and there we met with ſome perſons that were his acquaintance, and from thence we went to the Ship in *Leadenhal-ſtreet*; and among us was *Hind*, that confeſſed himſelf Guilty; and there the buſineſs was fully diſcourſed of, what their intention was, that all intereſts were agreed; *Fifth Monarchy-men*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, and *Fighting Quakers*, and the Congregational Churches were conſenting, and were reſolved to endeavour their deliverance from Adverſaries at *Whitehal*. Many paſſages more; On the morrow after we met again, and there met with us *Hind*, and *Brown*, and *Baker*; there we were acquainted of their Magazine and Arms provided, and about their correſpondence in the ſeveral Counties, that they were ſure of *Windſor Caſtle*, that the head-Gunner and Sergeant there were privy; we had information concerning this *Tonge*; as an active perſon in this deſign; I ſtudied to know this *Tonge*, and I was brought to him at his houſe; and there I met one *Ward*, *Stubbs*, and *Hind*, and ſome others, and there we had diſcourſe concerning the buſineſs. *Tonge* told us ſomething of the buſineſs of *Windſor Caſtle*, and propoſed ſomething in reference to the taking of the Tower, what Arms and men they had for this deſign; We met many times at the Ship, that *Gibbs* we met at *Bridewell-Dock*, and there was *Stubbs* and one *Bearley* with me; where we waited for a Brother of this *Gibbs's* to give us intelligence when the day of the Inſurrection would be, we waited not long, but in came his Brother, and two perſons more, one *Thomas* a Bridler or Bit-maker in *Shoo-lane*, and another perſon in a handſome Garb came along with him; his Brother was ſomewhat ſhy (becauſe I was a ſtranger) to ſpeak any thing, but calls for this *Gibbs* and *Stubbs*, and had ſome private diſcourſe with them, and away departed; after they were gone, we deſired to know the intelligence, they told us, that the Council of 6. was broken up, all buſineſs was ſetled, *Ludlow* was Commander in chief, and *Allhallows* Eve was the time, that Horſe and Arms were provided. For *Phillips*; that day that the meetings were intercepted, that the Trained bands did ſurpize them, that day this Gentleman and I (pointing to *Riggs*) came to the Main Guard at the *Exchange*, where

where Sergeant *Phillips* was with a Buff Coat, and a Halbert, and this Gentleman (meaning *Riggs*) saluted him, and thanked him for his service in sending down notice to the Meeting to be gone, for he was coming with the Trained bands to surprize them; he asked him what was the occasion of the Bustle, sayes he, they say ——

Sir *Robert Foster*. Who is that he?

Hill. That *Phillips* said, they say they were up in the *West*, and if they were not, I would they were, and here too, for a few would do the work; Upon the Monday after, we met him near the *Exchange*, and so likewise *Riggs* thanked him for his service, and then he (*Phillips*) promised his further service when the time of the Insurrection would be.

For *Sallers*, I was by agreement to have 30 Armes delivered me, and I was very pressing to have the Armes out of the Magazine. *Sallers* met with this Gentleman (*Riggs*), and he urging *Sallers* about the Armes, *Sallers* told him that they were all delivered out the night before, about 5 or 600. and that forty of their friends went away without Armes; but that within 2 or 3 dayes there would be more laid in.

Sir *Heneage Finch*. Mr. *Hill*, I will ask you one question (with my Lords favour) as you have given a general account, I will keep you to one particular person, *Tonge*: Did *Tonge* in any discourse with you, tell you of one *Strange* that was gone into the Country?

Hill. One night he told us he had spoke with *Strange*; that he was gone into the Countrey, and would come back the morrow, and then we should have more intelligence.

Sir *Heneage Finch*. What concerning the Tower and *windsor* Castle?

Hill. He talked of the good service that he had done in being at *windsor* Castle, with the Serjeant and Gunner, for the securing of that Castle; That near five hundred of their friends were in and about *windsor*, ready to assist for surprising that Castle.

Court. Who told you this?

Hill. *Tonge* told me himself, that he was instrumental in it.

Finch. Did he tell you any thing of the Tower?

Hill. Only he said, it was fit some care should be taken to surprise the Tower at the time.

Finch. Any thing of *Allhallows*-Eve?

Hill. He did not fix the very instant time, but said, he looked for intelligence from *Strange*.

Sir *Jeoffry Palmer*. What day of the moneth was that?

Hill. I cannot remember the very day.

Serjeant *Maynard*. What did he say concerning Declarations?

Hill. The Declaration was ready, *Stubbs* acquainted us, against Popery and Monopolies, for Liberty of Conscience, and a Free Commen-wealth.

Finch. Any thing of the Popish Massacre?

Hill. Yes, I had this Paper of them, a Copy of a Letter.

Sir *R. Foster*. How many Copies of that Letter were to be dispersed in the City?

Hill. About five thousand.

Sir *Jeoffry Palmer*. These things were to be dispersed to possess the people; that the Papists about that time would Massacre the Protestants, that so they might draw all against that Party to joyn with them; a brave colour, when in truth there was no such thing, but only to carry on their design of killing the King, and altering the Government.

The Letter was read by the Clerk, and follows, *in hæc verba*.

SIR,

SIR, *Out of the respect which I bear to you in particular, and to the Protestant Party in General, I give you notice of this Passage; About a fortnight since, a woman, which you must be ignorant where, who had it from a Correspondent of the Papists, that they intend to make use of their Army (which all the World sees they have provided) against* Al-hallows *Eve next; It was thought good therefore, in as prudent way as may be, to give notice to our friends in remote parts, that they may do what piety to God, loyalty to their Prince, love to their Country, & self-preservation should direct them: Sir, I call the Eternal God to witness, that this is not to trepan, to put a trick upon you, but a sober truth; and also communicated to a Justice of the Peace, & by him to the Privy Council; and what the issue of it is I have not heard, I hope you will inquire, and tell us.* From *Yexford* in *Suffolk*, *Octob.* 31. 1662.

Serj *Keeling.* Do you (Mr. *Hill*) remember any discourse of the way of taking *Whitehall*? Name who were there, and who spoke.

Hill. There was *Hind*, and one Captain *Browne* a Shooe-maker in the *Strand*, and some other persons.

Council. Was *Stubbs* there?

Hill. Not at this discourse; but we talked of taking *whitehall* at *Stubbs*'s house, when a Sea Captain was there that was to go to *Suranam*, and *Stubbs* invited him to stay at home to assist them; who was to come down with a Party by *Charing-Crosse*, and another Party to come up by the Cock-pit, and to kill my Lord Duke of *Albemarle*, and to slay Sir *Richard Brown* in the City, and the Party in the City to keep a Drum beating, &c. And *Tonge* said, That their main care must be to keep down Sir *Richard Brown*, and the Trained Bands, or else they should never be able to stand.

Council. What concerning the Privy Garden way?

Hill. They discoursed concerning the getting down the Door and the Wall, and so get the sooner to *whitehall*.

Council. What was *Stubbs*'s opinion at that communication?

Hill. His was at *Black-fryers*, the last Tuesday night before they were taken, this *Stubbs*, *Thomas*, and *Gibbs*.

Court. Which *Gibbs*?

Hill. This black *Gibbs* at the Bar; they discoursed that they would be sure to make an end of Kings, Princes and Dukes, that they might have a Free State, and troubled no more with any such kind of persons, neither Lawn Sleeves, nor Circinglers.

Council. Do you remember that *Stubbs* proposed any other way to *Whitehall*?

Hill. No, Sir.

Maynard. Did they say what Number was provided, ten, or twenty thousand?

Hill. *Stubbs* assured us that there was a great party in *East-Smithfield* right for the work, and had their Arms.

Council. What imployment had *Sallers* about delivering the Arms?

Hill. He said, the Arms were delivered out at *Crutched fryers*, about six hundred, and that forty of their Friends went away last night for lack of Arms, that within two or three days there would be more.

Council Did he name a Magazine?

Hill. Yes, the Magazine in *Crutched fryers*.

Council. Did you know any thing touching the discovery of the Word, and by whom?

Hill. No, Sir; but I understood that *Tonge* was assured by *Phillips*, that *Phillips* would get him the Word that very night that they intended the Insurrection.

Coun-

Council. What was propounded, if they had taken the King, what would they do?

Hill. He ſhould have the ſame Quarter as *Ludlow* was to have.

Court. Who ſaid that? *Hill.* *Stubs*, *Gibbs*, and *Tonge*.

Council. That's three of the Priſoners at the Bar, Lord have mercy upon us.

Council. Were you not acquainted of a Council of Six?

Hill. Yes, they named ſome at a venture, but they believed ſome of them were of the Six. That they met not twice in a place, ſometimes here, and ſometimes in another place.

Council. Who did they name?

Hill. Colonel *Danvers*, *Phillips*, *Nye* the Miniſter, *Lockyer*, and one *Cole* of *Southampton*, that theſe Five were part of the Six.

Council. What diſcourſe touching the diſtance of place where they engaged any?

Hill. Forty miles about the Town.

Council. Did *Tonge* tell you that *Strange* had lodg'd any Horſe?

Hill. He ſaid, he had taken out the Horſe that were provided for a time, but *Gibbs* and *Stubbs* at *Black-friers* aſſured us of the Horſe coming into the Town the night before.

Council. Did *Tonge* tell you of any Back, Breaſts, Blunderbuſſes?

Hill. Not he, Sir, it was talked of that night at the *Black-friers*.

Council. What did you hear concerning ſending into *Dorſetſhire*, to ſpread Rumours there?

Hill. That they had four hundred of their Friends there that they were ſure of, and ſeveral Caſes of Piſtols ſent down by the Carrier.

Court. Who ſaid that?

Hill. I know not what particular perſon, but at that Meeting, & in that company.

Coyncil. Who was preſent? *Hill.* *Gibbs* and *Stubbs*.

Council. None of the reſt? Was *Tonge* or *Phillips* there? *Hill.* No Sir.

Council. Did you hear of any other Countrey, either *Kent*, or *Worceſterſhire*, or *Derby*, or *Leiceſterſhire*?

Hill. *Tonge* informed us of the faithfulneſs of Col. *Kendrick* in *Kent*, to bring him ſome Arms.

Court. If the Priſoners will ask him any Queſtions, they may.

Sallers. Friends, all that here are preſent, I did ever abhor ſuch an action: Ask him whether he did hear me ſpeak thoſe words, that I would ſay, that there was Arms delivered out, and that forty went away lacking, and in one or two dayes there would be more; which words I never did ſpeak in my life, or any ſuch thing onely what I heard from *Wapſhot*, as *Wapſhot* declared to my Lord Mayor, he told me, to whom I appeal: It's true, meeting with that *Wapſhot*, ſays he, we hear there will be a Riſing, and there are ſome Arms delivered out; ſaid I, I would adviſe you to have a care of ſuch a buſineſs.

Sir *Orl. Bridgeman.* I would not interrupt you, you will be admitted to make your defence afterwards; but if you will, ask him any Queſtion.

Sallers. My Lord, I ſhall come to that, *Wapſhot* told me there were Arms delivered, but further told me, he knew not of the certainty of theſe things, that at night he ſhould go to a houſe where he ſhould know, I bid him have a care; At night, as I was paſſing along, I met *Riggs* at *Stubbs* door, he asked me what news at *London?* I ſaid, I was told there would be a Riſing, and that Arms were delivered. Is there, ſays he? ſaid I, I do not believe it, but I ſhall know certainly to morrow. I did call the next morning, and asked, Is the ſtory true? No, ſays he, I was there, and there was no Arms, that was all that I know of the buſineſs. Friend, did I tell you any ſuch thing?

Council. Tell him, and upon what occaſion.

Hill. Upon occaſion of *Riggs* asking him for thirty Arms for me (this upon the *Exchange*) *Sallers* took him a little aſide and told him, They were all delivered out, that forty went away lacking, that more would be there within two or three days.

Sallers. That which I ſaid to *Riggs*, was the Meſſage I received from *Wapſhot*; but that I inquired, and there was no Arms there; ſo that it was but a fallacy; For I adviſed him not to meddle with any ſuch thing. Mr. *Hill* never ſaw my face, till I was apprehended upon the *Exchange*, and brought before Sir *Ri. Brown.*

Hill. I ſaw him upon the *Exchange* with this man (*Riggs.*)

Council. Did he ſay that any Arms were delivered before, and what number?

Hill. About five or ſix hundred.

Sallers. He never heard me ſpeak a word.

Council. How long before he was apprehended?

Hill. Never but that time with *Riggs* upon the *Exchange*, about nine dayes before his apprehenſion; and he confeſſed upon his examination, That he did ſee me with *Riggs.*

Court. Have you, or any other the priſoners any queſtions more?

Sallers. I have more: Whether he will poſitively affirm that he ſpake with me upon the *Exchange?* *Hill.* No Sir, you anſwered the queſtion to *Riggs.*

Council. You heard the anſwer? *Hill.* Yes Sir.

Sallers. May be at the ſecond hand.

Council. Did you hear the priſoner anſwer it, or had you it at the ſecond hand?

Hill. I heard it from *Sallers* himſelf, anſwering *Riggs.*

Sallers. Did you hear me? *Hill.* Yes, to Mr. *Riggs.*

Sir *Hen. Finch.* He ſwears it, and you wonder at it, and ſo we do all.

Sallers. Who was there then?

Hill. It was upon the *Exchange* when almoſt full.

Sallers. What day of the moneth? *Hill.* I cannot remember the day.

Sallers. I do declare before this Honourable Bench, Gentlemen of the Jury, and this great Auditory, That I never ſaw this mans face till I was apprehended: That which I told Mr. *Riggs*, was, what I heard *Wapſhot* ſay. I never till then ſaw this mans face, nor exchanged one word with him; whereas he ſayes, he heard me. I do not believe Mr. *Riggs* ſaw him near me, when I gave him the anſwer.

Hill. Seeing he doth invalidate my Teſtimony, Mr. Adjutant *Carent* took him upon the *Exchange*, I ſhewed him the perſon; and therefore, certainly I muſt ſee him before.

Sallers. It was not he, but the other in the white cloaths, that came and took me, that knew me. *Court.* Will any of the reſt ask him any queſtion?

Sallers. Here is that, that I am accuſed of, That I delivered Arms, which is altogether falſe; My Lord Mayor can bear me witneſſe, *Wapſhot* confeſſed, he told me ſuch a thing; I was always ſerviceable to his Majeſty upon all occaſions, and all times: my Neighbours can witneſſe my civil converſation

Court. Have you any thing more to ask him?

Sallers. I would fain know, whether the Bench and Jury are ſatisfied with this Evidence. *Court.* That you will hear anon: What elſe will you ask him?

Stubbs. What he accuſes me, you have all heard: I doe in the preſence of God, and this Honourable Bench, and the Jury, deny it: for it is very falſe, and believe none will verifie the ſame upon Oath. *Court.* Have you any queſtions?

Gibbs. We all ſtand in the preſence of God; and I am very conſcientious of what I ſay and do, I muſt give account of all things before the Lord. This Gentleman,

tleman, Mr. *Hill*, has aſſerted concerning me, That I ſhould deliver divers Caſes of Piſtols, or knowing the delivery of them: if Mr. *Hill*, who ſtands likewiſe in the preſence of God, can produce any man to prove, that I delivered to any man any Piſtols, or that any were ſo delivered by my order, or that I conveyed or ſent them away into the Countrey. Do this in the ſight of the Lord and his own conſcience, I expect no mercy. But I would have him ſpeak no more of me, but what he knows of me, or by me; whether he knows, I ever received any Piſtols, or delivered any at any time, for ſuch an end as he is pleaſed to ſpeak, Which my Soul abhors, and God can witneſſe.

Stubbs. This Mr. *Hill* was the man that mentioned this, and that he had four Horſes and Arms himſelf, and had two hundred pound in order to it. I was never any plotter, nor contrived any thing, but am as innocent as the child unborn, but being by an accident at *Tonges* houſe, a Strong-water-man; ask the other witneſſes, whether he ſpeaks truth ——

Sir *O. Bridgman.* I would put you in a right way, you ſhall be all heard at large, when you make your defence: But will you ask him any queſtion?

Gibbs. I propounded one, I deſire an anſwer: Whether I received or delivered any Piſtols to ſuch a uſe?

Hill. I did not ſay he did; but at that meeting at *Black-fryers* it was diſcourſed among them, that ſeveral Arms were ſent to *Dorſetſhire* to ſeveral friends there, and he was there then; I believe he cannot deny it.

Stubbs. There was Arms ſpoken of, but that man (Mr. *Hill*) ſpoke of them, and upon this conſideration, that there were Arms delivered to every Hall, Ammunition and Powder *Riggs* knows he ſpoke it at that time.

Hill. Sir, that was ſpoken after the queſtion was put, What was the occaſion of ſending the Powder and Ammunition to the Halls? Theſe Arms were ſpoken of, in reference to the deſign. I do acknowledge, I told him I had ſome Arms my ſelf, and ſaid, I had Two hundred pound for carrying it on: and I know the grounds of my ſpeaking, and ſo do ſome of this Honourable Bench.

Stubbs. Hill adviſed, that they fall upon Sir *Richard Brown* as an enemy to all honeſt men.

Gibbs. This *Hill* ſays, that I ſhould ſay theſe things, There was more there, and had ears as well as he, let them ſpeak.

Hill. There was *Riggs*, *Stubbs*, my ſelf, and I know not the other names.

Gibbs. This *Hill* and Mr. *Riggs*, whoſe face I never ſaw, came to my neighbours houſe, where I was alone, found me plotting with no man.

Hill. We were brought into his company by one *Beazley*, he had been at *Tower-hill* about two or three a Clock, to give ſome intelligence to ſome perſons there, about the deſign. *Riggs* and I took a Coach and went after him, and *Stubbs* told us we might meet him at a Bakers houſe neer the *Tower*. We found *Beazley*, and he ſaid he could not ſignifie any thing to us, but would carry us to *Black fryers*, to one *Gibbs*: and there he brought us to this very man, firſt enquiring at a houſe for him, *Beazley* was told, he was at a Tavern at *Bridewel-ſtairs*: We went there, and found him; he told us, he could tell us little himſelf, till his brother came; and accordingly he preſently after came, that was the occaſion that I came into his company.

Gibbs. He ſays that I ſpoke of Piſtols delivered, and a number, but how many he knows not; and that I ſhould talk of the dearth of the King; which is as falſe as God is true. Again, I knew nor of his coming, never appointed him, never was privy to any ſuch Plot, I abhor it in my Soul, I never engaged in any ſuch deſigne with any man at any time ——

Court. You do your ſelf much wrong, and take away that time, which you may happily ſpend better.

Stubbs. I deſire to know of Mr. *Hill*, who was preſent at that meeting, that I ſhould ſay, the King ſhould have ſuch quarter as *Ludlow*.

Hill. It was ſpoken at the meeting at *Black-fryers*, after his brother and the other perſons were gone, it was there ſpoken, that the Council was broke up, and all ready; *Alhallows* Eve the time, and then the ſame quarter to be given as *Ludlow* ſhould have if taken.

Stubbs. You do not anſwer the Queſtion, who was there beſides your ſelf?

Hill. There was *Riggs*, and that *Gibbs* there.

Stubbs. You have onely his evidence.

Tonge. Who was in Company when I talked of 300. men at *Windſor*?

Hill. It was at your own houſe, and there was *Ward*, *Stubbs*, *Riggs*, Hi[illegible], and my ſelf.

Phillips. Whether did he ever ſee my face at any meeting?

Hill. I never ſaw you before that time in *Cornhill*.

Phillips. Upon what account did I ſpeak to *Riggs* then?

Hill. When you came off the *Exchange*, you told him you could not ſtay, your Captain was coming; *Riggs* thanked you for your favour in ſending word to the Meeting to be gone, to a certain Quaker.

Phillips. I never ſent to any Quaker to that purpoſe; I did not ſee this man upon the Sabbath day; but *Riggs* came down to me, and thought I had ſent notice to *Anchor-Alley*, but I did not.

Sallers. He affirmed that there was ſeveral meetings of Forty. and then of ſix, ask Mr. *Hill* whether I was in either of thoſe numbers at any time.

Council. He did not charge you with any ſuch thing of being in that number: he askes a queſtion about things not laid to his charge.

Council. Let Mr. *Riggs* ſpeak.

Edward Riggs. About 3. weeks ſince I came acquainted with Mr. *Tonge* upon this occaſion, Captain *Baker* did ſay, that he was a man of Intelligence: but Mr. *Tonge* did not care for him; and told me, that I might be acquainted with him; a while after I came acquainted with him, accidentally, when I came to his Houſe.

Court. Whoſe Houſe?

Riggs. Tonges houſe; Mr. *Stubbs* was there; he ſaid, that he had been at *VVindſor*, ſpoken with the Gunner and Sergeant, and that they promiſed it ſhould be ready upon ſome certain notice given; that night he had received a Letter of ſome buſineſſe concerning a ſuit at Law, he ſaid, in which there was a myſticall meaning, which he did not tell me of; but this he ſaid, That he had made ſure of *VVindſor*, by the Gunner and Sergeants promiſes? This is that I know of him.

Council. Is this all of *Tonge*?

Riggs. This likewiſe he has told me, that he had ſometimes met with a certaine company: he did not ſay thirty or forty, but a pretty many there was: he named Mr. *Cole*, Captain *Elton*, Captain *Leigh*, that they had often met, but could not well agree; but at laſt Mr. *Strange* did meet with them, give them one meeting, they could not agree neither: they went away, and ſaid theſe words to the beſt of my remembrance, Mr. *Strange* did refuſe to joyn with them, but when God did bid him go, he would go; whether this day, or next week, or next year, matters not; but when God bids him go, he would go. Mr. *Cole* was ſomewhat troubled to hear it; but ſays Mr. *Cole*, if you will go, give me but notice, if I cannot go ſo faſt as you ride, I will hold by your Horſe-tail: A little while after he told me,

they

they had not met againe; that Mr. *Cole*, because they could not agree about this busineſſe, was gone beyound Sea; but before he was gone, he did tell me of ſome conſiderations that were drawn, as he judged about a Government by Maſter *Cole*, and gave me in a Paper ſome certaine Propoſitions, three or four concerning Sea-men; the ſubſtance was this, what great benefits they had by a Common-wealth.

Court. Who gave you them?

Riggs. *Tonge*, but it came from Mr. *Cole*, as he ſaid; In general they were to declare againſt the Miſgovernment of Church and State, in particular to Sea-men, what great advantages there would be to them; and three or four things propounded in order to them. 1. That no Sea-men ſhould pay cuſtom for any commodity that he did bring under the value of Ten pounds, upwards they muſt: And likewiſe there ſhould be care taken upon our own Coaſts, and beyond Sea, that where any of our Engliſh Ships ſhould be caſt away, there ſhould be care taken out of the Cuſtomes, that might keep them in their travelling homewards, either from begging or ſtarving; but Mr. *Cole* when they met as *Tonge* ſaid, would not agree, and therefore went beyond Sea; after he was gone, within a week or fortnight they had another meeting.

Court. They, which they, name them?

Riggs. I did not hear him name many, unleſſe *Leigh* and Captain *Elton*, I remember no more; and there, he ſaid, they had under conſideration, the Government of a Commonwealth; and ſo to declare againſt the miſgovernment of the Church and State; and there was to be a meeting at *London-wall*, in a little time after, and he was there: he afterwards told me, he miſt that meeting, but had intelligence brought him, that that time that he miſſed, thirty or forty, I know not the certain number, had referred it to ſix men; the called it, *The Council of Six*, but the names of them, I never heard from him; and indeed, he ſaid he knew them not, by reaſon of his abſence from that meeting: but what I gathered from him, was this, That he judged Captain *Elton* was one of them.

Council. He told you, there was a Council of ſix.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* To make things ſhort; were you ever at any meeting where there was a diſcourſe touching ſurprizing the King, altering the Government; and who was there upon your oath?

Rirgs. That Friday immediately before we were taken, I think *October* 24. there was ſome diſcourſe, in general, concerning *Whitehall*: what might be done, as to the procuring of that, and likewiſe concerning the *Tower*.

Council. Who was preſent that Friday?

Riggs. My ſelfe, *Hill*, *Tonge*, *Stubbs*, *Ward*, *Hind*, and *John Baker*; and then to the beſt of my knowledge, there was this diſcourſe in generall. Concerning the taking of the *Tower*, there was ſome Propoſitions on all hands concerning the taking of that; Mr. *Hind*, he onely mentioned, but did not ſay he would undertake it, the righting of Gunners Accompts. Mr. *Tonge*, he ſaid, that the way that he thought convenient, might be this, When Sir *John Robinſon*, now Lord Mayor, did late in the evening go into the *Tower*, there ſhould be a party following his Coach in, and ſo might doe it. And *John Baker* at that preſent inſtant of time did ſay, That it was neceſſary the King ſhould be ſurprized; and likewiſe ſaid then, that there ſhould be no quarter, he would give, nor take none.

Council. Who was preſent?

Riggs, Mr. *Hill*, my ſelf, *Bradely*, *Hind*, Captain *Brown*, and *Baker*, and another *Hill*, the Drawer I think.

Council.

Council. Was not *Tonge* and *Stubs* there then at that time?

Riggs. Yes, they were there.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* I ask you this, I do not desire large stories, but firm and close answers; Were you present at any meeting, when the securing of the King, *Tower.* or *Whitehall*, was discoursed of, or no?

Riggs. Sir, that Friday *Octob.* 24. immediately before we were taken, there was this discourse, *Tonge* did propound such a way for surprizing the *Tower*, by following Sir *John Robinsons* Coach in at night: and *Baker* did say, that it was necessary to undertake the securing of the Kings person, and assaulting of *Whitehall*, and that if there were Five hundred horse and foot, they would undertake it by going into the Privy-Garden and Back-stairs.

Council. Were you present when *Stubbs* did advise the assaulting of *Whitehall*, by the Privy-Garden?

Riggs. No; but *Baker* did say he would undertake it.

Council. Who was present?

Riggs. Mr. *Hill*, *Bradley*, *Stubbs*. and *Hind* was there, but that *Stubbs* undertook it, I cannot say, but he was there.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* Did *Tonge* ever tell you any thing of *Phillips*, or that he had hopes of the Word?

Riggs. I came acquainted with *Phillips*, presently after I was acquainted with Mr. *Tonge*. *Phillips* once met me, and I carried him to *Tonges*, and then *Phillips* freely said, That there was three hundred Arms at the *Artillery Garden*, he being one of the Artillery knew where they lay, and could tell them how they might come by those Arms; and that for the Word it was necessary to be got; and if in case that it so fell out that the White Regiment was then out, or he then in office, he would endeavour to procure it: But afterwards meeting him several times, he declared, he would not meddle any more with it,

Sir *H. Finch.* Were you upon the *Exchange* with *Sallers*, when there was a discourse about delivering out of Arms; and what did *Sallers* say?

Riggs. Mr. *Hill* saying, That he had Two hundred pound to buy Horses, and that he had four already, and wanted Swords, and had friends in Town wanted Arms; asked me, if I knew if any were given out. I told him, that one Mr. *Sallers* told me, That he had heard some Arms were given, and to be given out that day. Upon the *Exchange*. Mr. *Hill*, and *Bradley*, and I being together, Mr. *Hill* said, I there is the person that told me of the Arms; I will go and ask him, if there be any such thing. Whether Mr. *Hill* heard the discourse, I cannot tell, but he said, says he, I have enquired, and some Arms are delivered, and forty went without; but within two or three days, there would be more.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* Did *Hill* see *Sallers* upon the *Exchange* at that time?

Riggs. Yes, but whether he heard him, I cannot tell.

Sir *R. Foster.* What induces you to believe he did see him?

Riggs. We were close together. *Foster.* What about *Nathaniel Gibbs*?

Riggs. For *Gibbs*, I brought Mr. *Hill* acquainted with Mr. *Stubbs*; and he said he knew one at *Fleet-bridge* that sells Plums, and such things; and if we would go along with him, he would tell us news. *Hill*, *Stubbs*, and I, that day I was taken, went to *Beazley*; *Stubbs* asked him what news; says he, I hear the business goes on, but if you will go to one *Gibbs*, meaning him that is fled, he has intelligence? so we went to an Ale-house near him, but he was not at home, and we were told, if we would go to *Bridewell*, they said they would send for his Brother, meaning him at the Bar, and so should have an account: *Gibbs* at the Bar, being with

with us, he told us he knew little himself, but when his Brother came, we should here. Three quarters of an hour after came *Gibbs* that is gone, *Thomas*, and another man, I knew him not, and *Gibbs* called this Brother; *Beazley*, *Stubbs*, and *Hill*, and I. set still: when this *Gibbs* came, he said his brother knew little, hoped we were honest men. The news was this, that he heard that *Ludlow* was in Town, and that now the Council was broken up. *Court.* What Council?

Riggs. The Council of six was broken up, and that they had sent Messengers into the Countrey, to give notice, and to make their interests good abroad: this is that he said there, or as much as I remember.

Finch. Now I will ask you in general; Did you ever hear of any discourse at any time of these Meetings, touching a Rising by the Papists, and a Massacre of the Protestants?

Riggs. Being upon the *Exchange*, *Hill*, *Bradley*, and I, there was a Lieutenant came to me, and asked me whether I heard of the Massacre to be; I said no: says he I can let you see a Copy of a Letter to that purpose, and gave it me: *Hill* going to the Ship, I told him of this, and he was desirous of having a Copy; and this was the Copy that was this day read in Court.

Sir *Jeff. Palmer.* What did you hear concerning the surprizing of the King at *Camberwell*, when he came from his Mother, and what did *Phillips* say?

Riggs. Phillips, *Tonge*, *Stubbs*, and my self, being together, they were discoursing concerning the Kings going abroad; and at that *Phillips* said, the King was to come to *Hampton-Court*, to see the Queen-Mother at *Greenwich*, and hinted that he might be surprized; *Tonge* said, it need not, there might be such an opportunity twice every week.

Court. Prisoners, will you ask the witnesses any Question?

Phillips. Did you not meet me on a Sabbath day? you may remember I met you in *Cheapside*, we walked to *Burchin-lane* end: you asked me of a rising that should be? I said, what rising? says you, to surprize the King, coming from *Hampton-Court* to *Greenwich*: and I came and spoke it openly in my Family, as newes that I heard. This Gentleman had me to *Tonges* house, and there grew the discourse; *Riggs* told me, *Tonge* could tell further; and *Riggs* told me, that the reason why the time for it was not appointed, was because the Fift-Monarchy men and Anabaptists were not agreed; *Riggs*, did not I disclaime this business, and declared, I would have nothing to do with it.

Riggs. This is certaine, that afterwards he did say he would not have any thing to do with it, and I did not see him a great while after that: Concerning *Bakers* surprizing the King, it is true, he did say before *Hill* and I, and *Bradley*, that the King was a hunting, and came through the City; and said, he would have been one of the Fifty that would have surprized him, and pulled him out of the Coach.

Court. Who said that? *Riggs. Baker.* *Court.* Who present?

Riggs. Bradley, M. *Hill*, and the other *Hill*, Brown, and others.

Finch. Do you remember no discourse concerning the coming in at the Privy-Garden?

Riggs. I have under my hand to the Grand-Jury declared, that *Baker* said he knew the way to the Back-stairs through the Privy-Garden, better then any; and *Bradley* did once, and but once, say, that he knew it as well as any, and would undertake to do the same, in the presence of *Stubbs*, *Tonge*, *Hill*, and the rest of them that were there that Friday night.

Court. Who were the rest?

Riggs. Hill, my self, *Ward*, *Stubbs*, *Hind*, and *John Baker*, at *Tonges* house.

Sir-

Sir *John Maynard*. We do not conceive, that theſe two witneſſes have given evidence againſt all of them; if any thing ſtick with the Jury, let them ſpeak.

Council. Hear *Bradley*; this witneſſe that we call, he was no Conſpirator; but when there was notice of the deſign, he was imployed to finde it out, and to give us an account of it.

Sir *Heneage Finch*. Mr. *Bradley*, were you preſent at any debate?

Gibbs. Whether did *Riggs* hear me ſay, that *Ludlow* was in Town, or that the Council was broke up, and the buſineſſe went forward?

Riggs. This I ſaid, That *Hill*, *Stubbs*, and *Beazley*, were preſent; and he ſaid, he knew nothing himſelf, but from his Brother, this was the news, that he heard that *Ludlow* was in Town, Council broke up, and that there was ſent out Meſſengers to give notice to prepare for the buſineſſe; that it would be on *Allhollows-Eve*, or the latter end of the week, being Saturday the next day.

Gibbs. I never ſpake theſe words, and do deſire that the Honourable Bench will enquire of the perſons, then preſent, Whether they will avouch the ſame; whether I ſaid it from my Brother? Theſe words I did not ſpeak, and others being preſent, had ears as well as he.

Tonge. Mr. *Riggs* told me *Ludlow* was in Town, and told me he would enquire after him. *Riggs*. I confeſs, I did ſo.

Tonge. And that he was like to be taken in *Cheapſide*; he was continually at my ſhop, and would not let me alone, prompting and inducing me to theſe things.

Council. Mr. *Bradley* were you at any meeting, touching diſcourſe of ſurprizing *Whitehall*?

Bradley. I was one Friday night at *Tonges* houſe, a Strong-water man on *Tower Ditch*, where there was theſe two Gentlemen with me (pointing to Mr. *Hill*, and Mr. *Riggs*,) and there was Mr. *Stubbs*, and *John Baker*, and another Gentleman, one *Ward*, and we had ſome diſcourſe about ſurprizing of *Whitehall*, which way it might be done. Some ſaid, that a party might go through the Guard, and ſo ſurprize General *Monks* Guard: Others ſaid, they might come down by *Charing-Croſs*; but *Tonge* ſaid, there was no coming down by *Charing-Croſs*, becauſe there was two great Guns planted at the bottom, and commanded all that way; but ſaid, the onely way he conceived, was to bring a party through *Kings-ſtreet*, and if it were poſſible to get into the *Privy-Garden*, and ſo into the Lodgings that way. This is all that I remember.

Serj. *Keeling*. Do you know any thing about the Ship at the *Eaſt-India* houſe?

Bradley. I went to this Ship ſometimes; and with *Riggs*, *Hill*, *Brown*, *Hind*, and one *Hill* a Cloth-drawer, we had divers diſcourſes concerning the deſign, and the news on foot. *Court*. What deſign, expreſs it?

Bradley. To alter the Government, the ſurprizing the King, the Duke, and the General, and as many more of the Council they could lay hands on.

Council. What about the Guards, ſurprizing *Whitehall*?

Bradley. At another meeting they diſcourſed about bringing forces to *White-hall*.

Council. Who were preſent then; which of the priſoners at the Bar?

Bradley. None, unleſs *Hind* be there *Council*. At what other meetings were you?

Bradley. I was never at any other, but twice at *Tonges* houſe. The Friday night we had a diſcourſe about taking *Whitehall*; and the day before we were taken, I met this Mr. *Riggs* upon the *Exchange*; he asked me to go home and dine with him, we intended to go and ſee a Ship: His Dinner being not ready, we went over to *Tonges* ſhop, and had a quartern of Strong-waters, and I took a Pipe of Tobacco. *Riggs* went away, and ſaid he would not ſtay; *Hind* ſtaid with me the whilſt. After we had taken a Pipe of Tobacco, he came again, and ſaid he heard

the

the buſineſs was near at hand,and that there would be ſpeedy action. *Hill* was at the ſhop,and after dinner *Riggs* and I, Mr. *Hill*,and *Hind*, went all out together to *Stubbs* his houſe. *Riggs* and *Hill* went in, *Hind* and I ſtaid. Standing there a little, ſaid I to *Hind*, What mean theſe Gentlemen to ſtay ſo long? *Riggs* ſaid he ſtaid ſtaid for a friend; but I will goe and meet him: Said I, will you not go on board a ſhip with Mr. *Hind* and I? ſays *Riggs*,no,I will go to meet my friend. Do you goe on board the ſhip and come to my houſe; if I am not there pray ſtay a little. We asked Mr. *Hill*, if he would goe with us,but he went with *Riggs*,and they told me comming back,that *Gibbs* had informed them,the deſign was ready,Council broke up,and meſſengers ſent to give notice,and *Ludlow* in Town,and to be General.

Court. Who told you this?

Bradley. Riggs did,when he returned from *Bridewell.*

Tyler ſworn.

Sir *H. Finch.* Mr. *Tyler*,do you know *Tonge?*

Tyler. I know him very well.

Sir *H. Finch.* Have you ever been in his company, and ſpake of any deſign about ſecuring the king. *Tyler.* Often.

Council. Tell what you have heard:

Tyler I have met Mr. *Tonge*,and others,in thre or four ſeverall places;at the Wheat-ſheaf at *Lions*,one if not twice; at the Half-moon, Widow *Jordans* within Biſhops-gate,twice at the leaſt; neer Dukes-place at the Sheares,I have heard ſeveral things, and have noted it down,to be ſure to deliver the truth. I have heard them ſpeak about *Whitehall*,and ſecuring of it,and of the two Guns there. *Eaton* and he ſaid that they might come with a party backwards,breaking through a Barbers ſhop in *Kings ſtreet*,and diſmount the two Guns But as touching the King, the Duke, and the Noble Duke of *Albemarle*, They propoſed what excellent ſervice it would be to ſecure theſe perſons, He ſaid it was not a thing that would admit of much debate,inaſmuch as he had a friend a Courtier,(I know not his title)that would give him notice at any time when the King was none a hunting,or His progreſs; and that it was eaſie to take it. *Tonge* ſaid he ſerved the *Tower*-Sutler, and was acquainted there; and ſaid,there was no way to ſurprize that but this,either about 10 or 11. a clock,I wil undertake we may do it with forty perſons, thus ſays he, ſome to go in dropping, one by one, or two together; and others to be at ſeverall Alehouſes neer, to be ready, and they within ſeizing on the Guard by a private ſign, we would ſecure thoſe without; and the Souldiers being of the old Army,will readily comply: And ſaid,ther was a perſon that lived nigh him,wears Ropes about him is a Porter,when off the Guard; and believes he can command the whole Company, and would undertake it. For *Windſor* caſtle, there was an old Gunner, tha he kept a correſpondence withall,and he ſerves the Sutlers of that Caſtle with Tobacco, I think he named Strong-water; and that the Souldiers were many of them of his acquaintance, and that he had received Letters from this Gunner, under ſome ſtrange title; and ſaid it was eaſie, and knew,that at any time, when Word was given,let him goe or ſend by ſuch a token,and that place were our own.

Court. Who ſaid this?

Tyler. Mr. *Tonge.* As to the other perſon *Phillips*, I can onely ſay this of him; there is one Lieutenant *Chapman.* ſo formerly, now a Priſoner in the Tower: This Lieutenant was a Carrier of *Norwich*, I went to his Inne the *George* in *Lumbard-ſtreet*,and asked for him,I was told he was at Captain *Foſters* Houſe in *Leaden-hall-ſtreet*,and there I might find him; I went to Captain *Foſters*,and Ca. *Foſters* man told me he was at Supper there with his Maſter; I went up, there was this Lieutenant

Chapman, and *Phillips*, which was the first time I laid eyes on *Phillips*: My busineſs was to ſpeake with Mr. *Chapman* the *Chapman* the Carrier; but I perceived by ſome diſcourſe of Mr. *Phillips*, there was ſomething driving on; but I muſt ſay, that Captain *Foſter* walked about the Room, as if he minded not the diſcourſe; there was *Chapman*, *Phillips*, *Elton*, and a man looking a ſquint, I heard *Phillips* call him Muſter Maſter, but I know not the man; I heard them diſcourſe very promiſcuouſly about ſhips, and ſomething wildly; I tarried while I ſpent my two pence, and came away with Mr. *Chapman*, and asked him what that young Blade was that talked ſo promiſcuouſly? *Chapman* told me he was a Sergeant belonging to the Trained-Bands: Tell me his Name, his Name is *Phillips*: Do you know his Trade or Dwelling? He is a Gilder I think: Then this is the ſame perſon I have heard of at a Coffee-houſe, which was thus; A Perfumer in *Southwark*, he heard of great rumours about a new Commonwealth; and preſſing this Perfumer how he came to be thus informed, ſays he, there is one *Phillips* that lives in *Abchurch*-lane, this man knows of it: for ſayes he, he hath ſaid himſelf, that he has gone from Committee to Committee, where Officers met about theſe things, and he named Captain *Foſter* for one that was engaged in the buſineſs: ſaid I, this is ſtrange; I haſtened back again in the morning to Captain *Foſters*; Sir, ſaid I, Do you know that *Phillips* that was here laſt night? Yes, ſayes he: What is he, ſaid I? he anſwered, a Sergeant. The thing is this, this man does talk abroad, That there is a meeting of the old Officers, and that you are engaged. At which, Captain *Foſter* ſeemed to be troubled that he ſhould be ſo aſperſed; anſwered, I know nothing, not one word of this. I do declare an abhorrence thereto, or of any action againſt His Majeſty; and thereupon preſently went to *Phillips*, and charged him wiah this Report; and ſoon after, this Perfumer comes to my houſe, and deſired me to go over to the Croſs-Keys, where *Phillips* was. When I came there, ſays *Phillips*, Sir, I ſaw you the laſt night, when we were talking of Ships, I hope you do not mind the report about Captain *Foſter*; for I am troubled ſuch a thing is mentioned: For my part, I knew not that I ſaid ſo; I am ſure, I knew no ſuch thing. This was all as to *Phillips*; But for *Tonge* I muſt needs ſay, in all the meetings where I was, the ſeveral places that I formerly named, and the *Whalebone* behind the Exchange, he ſtill diſcourſed of this buſineſs.

Council What was done there concerning chuſing the Council of Six?

Tyler. He was ſpoke to be at the Shears, but he ſent a note ſealed and directed, in which was incloſed either nine or eleven of the Rump Parliament names of perſons: And ſays he, for my part I cannot come this day, becauſe the Hamlets are to go out into the Field; it was when Sir *John Robinſon* marched with his Regiment; that I may avoid ſuſpicion, I muſt go with him.

Council. What were thoſe names?

Tyler. I cannot tell; but they were nine or eleven of thoſe in the *Tower*: And he promiſed he would get a note of thoſe mens names in the *Tower*; for he was confident of it, that they would ſit as Members, and do good ſervice upon the account of a Commonwealth: And ſaid there were ſome that had a correſpondence with them in the *Tower*. *Coun*. What correſpondence had they in the Country?

Tyler. *Longe* told me at the Wheat-ſheaf, That if a riſing ſhould be, it were neceſſary, that the old Commanders up and down the Country, ſhould head them: And therefore ſays he, What forces can be raiſed, ſhould go under that Conduct; or to that effect, he and *Elkin* did propoſe ſeveral Colonels, I think moſt that are now living, both in *England* and beyond the Seas.

Council. Can you tell any thing of the rumours abroad, expecting this deſign?

Tyler. *Tonge* told me this, That there was one that they called the Lord *Lockhart*,

hart, he, said he, was Governor of *Dunkirk*; that he had thirty or forty servants about him; that these persons expected a rising; and that they and himself, would engage. We heard that Col. *Rossiter*, not particularly from *Tonge*, but there in company, was expected to be at *Sturbridge*-Fair, to head Fifteen hundred Horse to be at *London*. Also, he asked me this question at his house, Whether I was acquainted with Cap. *Leigh*, a man with one arm, a stout honest fellow, & an active man of his acquaintance

Council. Speak your knowledge, both of persons and things.

Tyler There was one Mr. *Cole* of *Southampton*, *Swetnam Gibbs* a Hat maker, not he at the Bar, *Tonge*, *Thomas Elton*, *Elkin*, *Pryor*, and one *Cox* a Gardiner, and *Ward*, now prisoner in the *Tower*, and one *Ward* a *Southwark* man, and *Dyer* a young Scholar; there was one *Rose* of *Chesterfield*, and the Perfumer I spoke of, I know not his name, he lives in *Southwark*; and there was a Quaker, I know not his name; the great business was to unite all interests; *Elkin* said, there were several Meetings in St. *Martins*, and other places

Tonge. If there be any one of the six in *London*. I believe this Mr. *Tyler* is one.

Tyler, To clear that I am none of them, I will name those whom I said were the six, *Thomas* of *Shoo-lane* the Copper-smith, one *Elton* in *White*-chappel, one *Raddon*, Captain *Spurway* of *Tiverton*, a West countrey Gentleman, Dr. *Ward* in *Southwark*, and *Jones* a Minister.

Sir *Hen. Finch* Did *Tonge* tell you that the time was apponted when the Rising should be?

Tyler. I know nothing of that. *Maynard.* What about *Leicester.*

Riggs. Hill said he dwelt there, and came from some that dwelt there, and others in *Gloucestershire*; but there was another person with *Stubs* and *Tonge*, and said there was a report in the Country that there would be some rising, and he came to town to bring his child to put him Apprentice with his brother, and would go down again and carry the certainty of the news. He was one of *Lamberts* souldiers.

Phillips. Mr. *Tyler*, did not you come in with the Carrier of *Norwich* to Cap. *Fosters?* *Tyler.* No, I did not.

Phillip. I am sure I came accidentally to Cap. *Fosters*, and saw you there.

Gibbs. Did I tell you, Mr. *Riggs*, that my brother said *Ludlow* was in Town, and there would be a rising shortly:

Riggs. Mr. *Hill*, *Beasly*, *Stubs*, and I and you were together, Mr *Thomas* and your brother came in, your brother *Beasly*, *Stubbs*, and *Thomas* were private in discourse, when you came again to us we a ked you what news; you said, before we came you knew not much, but your brother could tell, but then you said *Ludlow* was in Town, the Council was broke up, and that Messengers were sent to give notice to the Country. *Gibbs* I deny that I ere my brother said so.

Maynard. Know you any thing of surprizing the Kings Council, or *Whitehall*, or any thing of that, of altering the Government:

Tyler. As for altering the Government, that must needs be designed; for *Tonge* said it was debated, and thought convenient, as being the desire of severall in the Country that the old Parliament should be chosen again, that was to say, that so many of them that had approved themselves faithfull from first to last to the Commonwealths interest, especially in the times of Descension Secondly, that none should have power to elect, or be elected but such also as have approved themselves faithfull, as aforesaid. Thirdly, this House was to be filled up within a moneth, Fourthly; that it should continue one year and no more. Fifthly, that they should not have power in things of an Ecclesiasticall nature, to impose any thing upon the consciences of the people. Sixthly, that it should be high Treason among them to assert the interest of a King, house of Lords, or single person. Seventhly, that they

should not oppoint any sallary Officers. Eighthly, that while they keep to this, it should be high Treason to disturb them; as touching Arms and things of that nature. the truth is, the business which was very much urged is this, that there should be an uniting of all interests together, Quakers, Fifthmonarchymen, Ansbaptists, Independent, Presbyterian, and Leveller; to which purpose every one was obliged at the meeting to see what interest they could make among the Presbyters, because they looked upon them as persons that had most money and strength. I think there was no Presbyterian spoken of except one, who is lately secured in the Tower; he said, that if so be Col. *Beanes* was at liberty he believed he could engage him. There was one man that was there, which was one *Prior*, I suppose *Tonge* knew him, he said, he had very much acquaintance with the Presbyters, knew many in the Countrey, and that there they did not meet with any difficultys as here; for all interests, Quakers, and Presbyterians, and the rest, are all agreed.

Sir *Hen. Finch* Fery well, you see *Tonge* was at all these meetings, at the Wheatsheaf and Sheares, and there were the Colonels proposed. Did you hear of any Orders given out, in any of these consultations, to make the rising in the Countrey at the same time as in *London*?

Tyler. Mr. *Gibbs*'s Brother told us that he kept a correspondence in the country, that in *Essex* he knew there were divers Horse ready there, and I my self spoke with one who is lately secured, who said, there were divers horse ready thereabouts. I remember there were several at the Half-moon at *Bishops-gate*; one *Smith*, a *Northamptonshire* man, and one *Elose* of *Chesterfield*, and *Tonge*, and we heard that at *Mansfield* and *Nottingham* there was a rising intended; and it was assured that the countrey was very ripe and forward for action. We were informed, that there was 200 horse at *Bristow*; one person not yet secured did affirm to us, that one Col. *Templar* in *Essex* had two or three thousand men ready, his name was *Thomas*; that *Templar* was now in Town, if we would we might go and speak with him Said I, surely he doth but tell you this; saith he, his Lieut. col. gave me this information, and assures me, that his Colonel had converted his Estate into money to pay his Souldiers. Upon this having occasion to go down into *Essex*, I promised *Tonge* I would enquire further there; and understanding that one *Thornback* a Glover was one of *Templars* men formerly, I went to his house and being not at home I rode to *Holsted* Fair, and riding there the man pulled me by the coat, for he knew me; saith he, Mr. *Tyler*, my servant said you were at my house to speak with me. Yes, said I, I understand your name is *Thornback*, that you can give me some account concerning Col. *Templar*, we hear in *London* that he hath two or three thousand men in readiness. I pray inform me, saith he, I do not believe any such matter. I have served him long, and if occasion were he would be for you. I asked him the news; saith he, we all dread a massacre, we understand by a Letter from *Ipswich*, that the Papists intend a massacre of all Protestants about *Allhollandtide*, and that the countrey was in great fear about it. This *Thomas* the Copper-smith told us another story about some Roman Catholicks in *Southwark*, that had a purpose to rise and take of all Phanaticks.

After this the Court directed that *Phillips* Examination should be shewed him at the Bar, and he acknowledged his hand thereto, and was read as followeth,

The Examination of *George Phillips* Serjeant and Bringer up to Col. Sir *William Wale*'s Company of Trained bands in the City of *London*, taken this 29 of *October*, 1662. before me *Richard* Brown,

Who saith, THat *he knoweth one Parson* Riggs, *late Chaplain to* Blake, *who is now clerk to one* Friend, *a Brewer in* Cats-hole, *neer the* Iron-gate *in* St. Katherines; *which said* Riggs *told him, this* Examinant, *That there would be a rising*

of

of divers godly people in Arms for preservation of Religion, about the time the Queen came to Town; and that they intended to seize the Kings person about Camberwell, in his passage to see the Queen mother at Greenwich; but after the Queen was come to Town, this Examinant asked the said Riggs why it was not done according to their intendment, who replyed, they were not then ready, because the Congregationall Churches and they were not fully agreed; but now they were come to an agreement, and the work would be done in a short time, that all things were now neer ready both in Countrey and City, and that a Frigat or more would revolt from the King to them. Not long after the said Riggs carried him, the said Phillips, to the house of one Tonge, an old Army Captain, but now a seller of Tobacco and Strong-water in Tower-Ditch, where he heard Tonge say unto Riggs, that he had been at Windsor-Castle, and had made a Captain, 2 Serjeants, and a Gunner to be of their Party; & that they had undertaker to deliver up the said Castle to that Party which were now to rise; to which Riggs replyed, you have done well; & further said, I am now going no surprize two Castles in Kent; one of them, as this Deponent remembreth, was to be Deal Castle; & this he would & could do, for that he had some correspondence therein, & much acquaintance near, where he formerly used to preach And further saith, That Tonge asked Riggs, who should lead the men that were to rise, & who cōmanded in chief; to which Riggs reply'd, that Ludlow was appointed for that work. He further saith, that he asked Riggs & Tonge, how this businiss might be carried on with safety & secresie; Riggs told him, that there was a Council of 6 which managed the design, who sat but one day in a place, & would not be spoken with, but by the agitators of each county, who were implyed by them to & fro in this work, to prepare and make ready all parties in the several counties; & that these 6 were of several congregations & opinions; to the end that all parties might unite: and furthtr saith, that one Wade or some such name, whom he heard Riggs and Tonge say was a Ship-chandler in East-smithfield, did furnish powder to carry on this design; in whose company he once was, and himself say as much; which said person he believes he knows when he seeth him again. He also saith, that Riggs told him all the congregational Churches were now agreed to joyn in this design; And that Riggs & Tonge desired this Examinant to furnish what Men & Arms he could; which he saith he never intended to do it, though he earnestly requested it of him; only he saith, in some things he was too faulty, which he prayeth pardon for; which was, in sending word to the several meetings on Sunday last, that the Trained-bands were coming to seise them; upon which the chiefest of them made their escape before the Souldiers arrival; & that he being deluded by their fair Speeches, did promise to give them the Word when the general Rising was to be: In which rising all the Churches aforesaid promised to joyn, & the Fifth-monarchy Men to lead the Van. And further saith, that Riggs told him, they had a Declaration ready to fling among the people, against Bishops & Common-prayer; and that Liberty of Conscience was held forth therein: But first before this Declaration, they would seise on the Kings person; & that then their declaration would take with the people; And also saith, That one Capt. Baker, one Bradley & Tonge were privy to all these Transactions which were debated by them in his presence; and that the said Baker came afterwards to this Examinant, & discoursed all the aforesaid particulars, & incited him to help on with the work; & told him, their Arms & Powder was distributed; and that a Porter, which was formerly a souldier, carried the Powder to several places in a sack. And further saith, that Riggs had told him, they had divers friends both in London & the country, who had & would help them to Mony & that all their friends were now ready in all countries, waiting only for the day when they were to Act; and that the Treasure in Guild-hall was likewise to be seised. And that the said Riggs also told him, that they intended to Surprize the Tower, which they could easily do, having some therein that would assist; and this was to be put in Execution in some Evening, when Sir John Robinson came home late, by following close after his Coach with a Party of men, which should lie ready for that purpose.

George Phillips.

Sir William Morice, *and Sir* Henry Bennet, *Principal Secretaries of State ſworn.*

Sir *William Morice.* I have had intelligence, and ſeveral advertiſements from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, that there was a Deſign of Riſing, and an Inſurrection, that it was the general expectation and common diſcourſe of the diſcontented and diſaffected party; nay, it was likewiſe preached about that the Papiſts had a Deſign to riſe and cut the throats of the Proteſtants. I had 4 or 5 Letters to that effect ſent and brought me; & theſe Rumors were ſpread to excite others to joyn with theſe.

Sir *Henry Bennet.* Divers Letters of mine were to the ſame effect, that there was an Inſurrection intedded at that time, and calling upon one another to be ready at that time. Sir *John Talbot* Sworn.

Sir *John Talbot.* I ſuppoſe that the Evidences that I can give in relation to the Priſoners, is only the conſequences of this report, which they had rumoured about the Papiſts Maſſacring the Proteſtants; the conſequence was this, that it made a very great diſturbance in *Worceſterſhire* & *Warwickſhire*, inſomuch that many Gentlemen that lived in the Country in very good repute, came under a very great ſuſpicion of all their Neighbors, and the Lieutenants wrote to one another to ſecure many, there was Guards ſet to ſatisfie the fears of the Country, Friday night which the riſing ſhould have been on, they would not intruſt the Catholicks to be in Arms but other Voluntiers. Mr. *Hodges* Sworn.

Mr. *Hodges.* In *Dorſet-ſhire* the 23 of *October* laſt, there was a diſcovery made by ſome of the Town, of an intention of a general riſing, and ſome of the Town were engaged in it, one Mr. *Harvey* a Juſtice of the Peace examined divers perſons, four that were privy to it were ſent to the Gaol, and an Exprtſs ſent to Secretary *Morrice.* Sir *John Weld* the younger gave ſuch an account of *Shewsbury.*

Stubbs. My Lord, the occaſion of my going that Friday night was by Mr. *Hill* and Mr. *Riggs* ſuggeſting the Papiſts riſing, I was never known to be a Plotter, I had not gone forth that night, but only by their perſwaſions, I never heard of any Arms but only the rumours of the people.

Sallers. I would fain know of Mr. *Riggs* what number of Arms I told him was delivered. *Riggs.* I know not the number

Major *Thomas Bonfoy* (at his deſire) was Sworn.

Major *Bonfoy.* I do not remember that I ever ſaw *Phillips* face, but I did underſtand it was his cuſtom to come to the *Exchange* to inſinuate himſelf into my Officers, making merry with them, and endeavouring to get the word, and I believe it was his common practiſe.

Phillips. He may remember I came on the Exchange, and ſpoke to him, and was looking for one of his Sergeants, I asked no man the word, but preſently went to the Black Lyon in the new Alley, and from thence I went home, I did not ask the word of any one; I have confeſſed before the Council that at the beginning of *Auguſt*, I met Mr. *Riggs* in Cheapſide, he then came and cloſed with me, and walking along, ſaid he, Do not you hear of a riſing which ſhould have been on Friday? no ſaid I, and then I asked him where? he ſaid at *Camberwel*, and I thinking nothing of it, came home and ſpoke of it in my Family, as news from Mr. *Riggs*; on Tueſday I met Mr *Riggs* on Tower-hill, and he brought me to the houſe of Mr. *Tong*; *Tong* told *Riggs* h had been at *Windſor*, and made ſome party to ſecure the Caſtle; *Riggs* ſaid he could go down to *Kent*, and ſecure *Deal* and another Caſtle, for he had been a Preacher there; As for Mr. *Tyler*, one night coming neer Captain *Foſters* door, and having not ſeen him in three years before, he asked me if I would not drink, I ſaid yes, then came in the Carryer of *Norwich*, I never ſaw this Carryer till then; then came Mr. *Tyler*, and there was talking of a Friggot and the time of the lanching of it, and how it was to be man'd; but a little after Captain *Foſter* came and charged

charged me with a report, that I ſhould ſay he was engaged; I told him I knew it not, nor ſaid it not; I have often declared I would have nothing to do in it, It's true Mr. *Riggs* came and thanked me that I ſent notice to the meeting to be gone, and I told him I would do the people any good I could, but Mr. *Riggs* knows I told him it was a dangerous buſineſſe, and I would not meddle with it, I am ſure in the time of the Fifth-monarchy Inſurrection, I was faithfull to the King, ventured my life as far as any man, Sir *William Wale* put truſt in me, and I did that ſervice there that the Colonel himſelf did not venture to do; but that I was engaged in this buſineſſe, it is a trouble to me, and I hope the King will be merciful to me, I did not think that ſuch a thing would be diſcloſed in ſo ſhort a time, for my part I did not mind it, I knew nothing the night I was taken, I was in bed and did not offer to eſcape, I hope the King will look upon me as one drawn in.

Stubbs. I never had any meeting with any of the Councill, moſt of the things I heard at Mr. *Tongs* houſe, meeting with Mr. *Riggs* by chance; for thoſe Gentlemen Mr. *Tyler* ſpeaks of, the Councill of 40 and of 6 I never knew them, I am ſorry I ſhould be concerned in ſuch diſcourſe, & I hope his Majeſty will have mercy on me.

Gibbs. My Lord, I was at a Neighbours houſe at that time, and went to Drink a Cup of Beer alone in their Kitching, not knowing of *Hill*, *Riggs* or *Stubbs* coming there, I never appointed them any meeting, they came in, and when they came in, they asked if there was not one *Gibbs* there, ſo the people of the houſe told them there was, they came and told me there was ſome Gentlemen would ſpeak with me, whereupon they being ſtrange faces, I ſtood up and ſaid, Gentlemen, what is your buſineſſe with me? ſaid they, we would driuk a Cup of Beer with you, then ſaid I ſit down; they had a deſire to be private, and to go up, whereupon not knowing their buſineſs, I went up, ſuppoſing they meant ſome matters of my trade, but we ſitting down, Mr. *Riggs* ſaid to me, Mr. *Gibbs*, what is the beſt news, and Mr. *Hill* alſo did urge and ask for news, ſaid I Gentlemen, I know no news, nor none I can tell you; ſo they made inquiry then for my brother, ſaid I, I cannot tell where my brother is, may be your buſineſſe is moſt with him; I will ſend for him, and I ſent the Maid for him, and directed her, that if he was not at home, ſhe ſhould leave word for him to come: Again, they urged for news, and I told them I knew none but only this, that the meeting was ſeized upon the laſt Sunday by armed Souldiers; but to tell them, there would be any riſing, or of any arms delivered, or Piſtols, as Mr. *Hill* has related it, was a thing I was wholy ignorant of, I ſpeak as in the preſence of God, & I know I muſt one day give an account before the great aſſizes of the world, and I fear that which they have ſaid, is out of ſome fear lying upon them, being guilty of ſome fact, and ſo to ſhrowd themſelves under falſe lyes. They nor no other can prove that ever I received, or delivered any arms, or that any were delivered by my order, theſe men ſpeak falſly.

Sir *O. Bridgman.* You miſtake your ſelf, they do not charge you with receiving or delivering Arms, but you related it, your brother ſpeaks ſuch things had been done, and if you know of this, and do conſent and conceal it you are equally guilty.

Gibbs. After they had asked me the News in a ſhort time my brother came into the room, and I roſe from the Table, and went towards my brother, and then my brother aſked me what theſe Gentlemen were? I ſaid they were ſtrangers to me, and I knew not what they came for; ſaies he, they are ſtrangers to me alſo, immediately we aroſe, paid our reckoning, and went away: but that ever I ſaid my Brother told me, The Counc. l of ſix was broke up, all is ready, *Ludlow* to be General, and *Alhallow-Eve* the time, or that things went on well: I deny it, my Brother ſaid no ſuch thing to me, nor I to any man; when there was an Inſurrection by the *Fifth monarchy* men, I was then preſently ready at beat of Drum, went out in my own Perſon to ſerve his Majeſty at twelve a clock at night, though I had Servants of my own. My affections were ſuch, that I

have

have alwaies ever since his Majesties Restauration been an obedient Subject to al his lawful Commands. I belonged then to Major *Kilby*'s Company, and did continue marching in the Company till the whole busines was over, and ventured my Life, and never did contrive any Plot, or knew of any Plot, received or delivered any Arms: As to the Inhabitants among whom I have lived many years, they have known my Conversation: I have been a peaceable Neighbour, subjecting my self under the Government that now is, whom God continue. I desire this Certificate may be read concerning my Neighbours testimony of my conversation.

Sir *O. Bridgeman*. If you have any of them here they may speak, but the Certificate cannot be read.

The Porters man of *Bridewell* said he knew nothing, but that he lived very quietly among his Neighbours.

Sir *R. Foster*. Nor I neither.

Court. Mr. *Tong* what have you to say?

Tong. I have nothing to say, but that the first man that brought me into this business was *Tyler*.

Sallers All that I am charged with is a report of the delivery of some Arms; seeing that a number of Arms are mentioned, I would ask what was the number?

Mr. *Riggs*. I cannot well tell the number, but you said there were some Arms given. and some to be givens and that several had come to that place, and went away without Arms, and that within two or three dayes there would be more given, but as to the number I cannot remember.

Sallers. Now take notice of Mr. *Hills* Evidence, he hath asserted that there were 5 or 6 hundred, how do these agree? I can have sufficient testimony of my Life & conversation.

Court. If you have any thing more to say in this business, speak in the name of God, no body hinders you, but keep to the business.

Sallers. I intreat the Bench to take notice what I am charged withall, it's only a report I received from one man, and told to another, and the very Original was a Lye, there was no such matter, and yet here is audacious Evidence; he saies I named 5 or 600. and yet *Riggs* to whom I spoke heard me name no number.

Council. One speaks to the Arms, but does not remember the number; they both speak to the thing.

Sallers. How can Mr. *Hill* be a competent Witness against me; when he never saw my face before, but saies Mr. *Riggs* told him,

Mr. *Hill*. I said not so, but that I heard it from your own mouth.

Mr. *Soliciter*. Mr. *Riggs* why did you go to Mr. *Sallers* to help *Mr. Hill* to Arms?

Mr. *Riggs*. Because Mr. *Sallers* told me the day before that he heard there was some delivered, and more would be, and the next day we went to the *Exchange*, and there he told me this story *Sallers*. I cannot hear him.

Sir *O. Bridgman*. He saies you told him the day before there was Arms delivered, and more would be delivered, and then the next day he and Mr. *Hill* came on the *Exchange*, and then you spoke those words which they both witness against you.

Sallers, I spake no such a word; It's true, what *Wapshot* told me I told *Riggs*, which was, that there were Arms, delivered; but it seems there was none: and I told him I would tell him the truth the next day on the *Exchange*, and so in the mean time speaking with *Wapshot*, he told me there was no such thing, & I told *Riggs Wapshot* said there was none.

Court. Pray what made you so busily enquire after Arms if you were not concerned?

Sallers I did not enquire after it, but accidentaly meeting him in *Mark-lane* he told me

Mr. *Tonge*. My Lord, as you are my Judge, so I hope you will be my Councellor; and I pray yonr advice whether Mr. *Tyler* and Mr. *Riggs* be competent witnesses against me, they being in the same case. Sir *O. Bridgeman*. Where is the cause of your exception?

Tonge. Because they are in the same case.

Sir

Sir *O. Bridgeman.* There are four witneſſes all againſt you, your own confeſſion and examination againſt you, through the whole buſineſs you are a principal perſon.

Tong. I confeſs I did confeſs it in the Tower, being threatned with the wrack.

Sir *O. Bridgeman.* There is Mr. *Hill*, Mr. *Riggs*, Mr. *Bradley*, and Mr. *Tyler*; there is *Hill* and *Bradley* without exception; *Bradley* he was not at all concerned, he went along with you to know what you ſaid; and Mr. *Hill* was not a perſon in the deſign, but made uſe of only to find out the Plot, they did nothing unjuſtifiable, ſo they are witneſſes without exception.

Serjeant *Glynn.* We deſire your Lordſhip to declare whether *Riggs* and *Tyler* be lawful witneſſes.

Sir *O. Bridgeman.* I would have you know this, whereas you make exception againſt thoſe perſons that are guilty of the ſame crime, that's a miſtake to ſay they are not witneſſes; in caſes of Treaſon, where there are works of darkneſs, theſe are things men will not do by day-light but in darkneſs, and who can diſcover theſe works of darkneſs better than they that have to do with them, if God turn their hearts: It's true, ſuch perſons as theſe are, if they had been convicted, they are not Witneſſes, but though they are in the ſame fault, it is frequent they are allowed, beſides they are not witneſſes alone, there are divers circumſtances, 1 *Edward* 6. 5 *Edward* 6. both ſtatutes ſay, there ſhall be two lawful witneſſes in caſes of high treaſon, that is ſuch witneſſes as the Law would allow, before thoſe ſtatutes, the meaning of the ſtatutes was, that men might not be taken upon a bare ſurmize; therefore the Law ſayes, there ſhall be two witneſſes, when one is accuſed of Treaſon, another in the ſame offence unconvicted and untainted, his Evidence is made uſe of, and though it is not ſo upright a witneſſe as others, yet he is ſuch a witneſs as the Jury is to take notice of: it is plain by ſeveral circumſtances, you have been a principal perſon, a Leader on of the buſineſs; though a man be but preſent when Treaſon is ſpoken or deſigned and acted, if this man be preſent, and ſhew any thing of approbation, his concealing of it is as much Treaſon as he that did it, they are all principals in Treaſon.

Sir *Henry Finch.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhips and you Gentlemen of the Jury, you have heard the Evidence of the Priſoners at the bar, five of them have ſtood out their Tryal, a ſixth hath confeſſed the Fact againſt thoſe perſons that now ſtand at the Barr; under good favour there is a clear and unqueſtionable proof of the Crime charged of them, and they have not ſaid any thing that hath either taken away the credit of the Evidence, or excuſed the matter; if you conſider firſt *Tong*, there is againſt him four witneſſes, and thoſe unqueſtionable, as you heard the direction of the Court, that he knew of the deſign, approved of it, contrived how to ſurprize *Windſor* Caſtle, had corrupted the head Gunner and Sergeant there, that he did contrive to ſeize *Whitehall*, and if you believe *Bradley*, adviſed as the fitteſt way, to break into the Privy Garden, all this againſt *Tong*, with a world of other Evidence how active he has been, his houſe was the place of conſultation, he imparts the deſign to *Phillips*, and *Phillips* undertakes to get the Word of the Trained Bands, I think none can prove more than is proved againſt him, when you come to hear the proof againſt *Phillips*, it is proved that he offered to betray 300 Arms in the Artilery, where he had ſome kind of Truſt, and that he was ready to endeavour the Word when the Inſurrection was to be, and but a very little before, he is the man that diſcovers to the Congregational Meetings, that the Trained Bands were coming to ſurprize them, that is in his own confeſſion, as well as the willingneſs in him to diſcover the Word; It is proved that *Tong* and *Stubbs* were preſent at thoſe diſcourſes touching ſurprizing the Tower, ſecuring the King, this is proved expreſly againſt them; *Stubbs* he thinks he has ſaid fairly for himſelf, when he doth ask Mr. *Hill* whether he did not ſay he had horſes and 200 l. to carry on the work, Mr. *Hill* ſayes he did ſay ſo, then it ſeems *Stubbs* was inquiſitive what helps there were to carry it on; Mr. *Hill* goes further, that in the preſence of *Stubbs*, it was ſaid there ſhould be no quarter given but ſuch as

Ludlow ſhould have if he were taken. When you come to *Gibbs*, he does deny all the whole matter, and indeed ſo they would all, and they have nothing to ſay, but to cry the witneſſes have ſworn falſely, and God is a Righteous God, and he will require their blood one day; but remember what a horrid proteſtation was in that Letter that was ſent abroad, to Alarm the whole Kingdome, as if a Maſſacre was intended by the Papiſts, and the Watch-word they ſhould all riſe by, that Letter ſayes, *I call the Eternal God to witneſſe, that this is no Trepan, but a ſober Truth:* Do you think, that men who are not aſhamed to call the Eternal God to witneſſe to a Lye, when 'tis to raiſe Sedition, will make any ſcruple at ſuch proteſtations at the Bar, when 'tis to ſave their lives? and if a man may ſcape by his own proteſtation, who ſhall ever be found guilty? But *Gibbs* thinks he ſayes a great deal for himſelf, when he ſayes his Neighbours can give great teſtimony of his good converſation. Alas, who will deny to give a good report of any man till he hear evil proved againſt him? But do you thing a little demure and ſober carriage amongſt a mans Neighbours, will ſerve to ballance an Evidence of high Treaſon? Is not the proof clear, that he did both know the Deſign and approve it? Mark what *Gibbs* tells the company.

My brother, ſaith he, for his part he will not ſpeak before you; but if you be honeſt men, this is the News that was ſpoke, like one that was not conſenting to it; well then, what is the News? he tells them why, the Council of 6. are broke up, *Fryday* is the day of Action, *Ludlow* is to be General. Can any man be privy to theſe things, and relate them ſo cheerfully, and yet not be conſenting? believe it, it is a hard matter to find greater evidence of a knowledge, and conſent againſt any Conſpirator, until he break out into open action. *Sallers*, he ſayes that the witneſſes do not agree; for Mr. *Hill* ſpeaks that he ſaid there was 500 Arms delivered, and 40 men went without Arms, but within two or three dayes there would be more: and when *Riggs* comes to ſpeak, he ſayes, he did ſay Arms were delivered, and more would be, but he did not remember what number; and becauſe they agree in the thing, but not in the number, therefore he thinks they diſagree in the matter. Obſerve what reaſon was there that *Riggs* comes to enquire of *Sallers* for Arms, becauſe *Sallers* told him the day before Arms were delivered, and more would be, he thought, therefore he came to a very proper perſon to tell him: If you mark, *Sallers* does deny openly in the Court that ever he ſaw the face of *Hill* till he was apprehended, although *Hill* was with *Riggs* when the Arms were ſpoken of upon the Exchange: And then he ſayes again, that *Hills* ſpeaks by hear-ſay, he is out in that too; for Mr. *Hill* ſwears expreſly, he heard the words themſelves from *Sallers*; Then here are theſe before you, four witneſſes againſt *Tong*, two againſt *Phillips*, and his own confeſſion; here is two againſt *Gibbs*, with theſe circumſtances, if you be honeſt men this is the news, &c. Here are two witneſſes likewiſe againſt *Stubbs*, who was likewiſe preſent at all their debates, even when the King himſelf was to have had the ſame quarter with *Ludlow*. Now Gentlemen, that there was a Conſpiracy, I think you have a clear Evidence, we may thank God, and the care of the King and his Miniſters, that it went no further, but 'tis no thanks to theſe men, they would have carried it to the extremity, had they had power, and without queſtion this was formed by other kind of wits then theſe poor contemptible Agitators, who are now tryed for it; you ſee there was a Council of 40. and an under Council of 6. a Declaration framed to ſcatter at the time of action, and that action directed to be both in the City and Country, juſt in effect at the ſame pitch of time; and that it might be ſo, a wicked and an impudent Letter is contrived, and many thouſand Copies diſperſed, and it wrought ſo far, that the Countries, much about the time appointed, were in great diſorder, as you have heard it proved: Is it not plain that an evil ſpirit went throughout the whole Nation, and animated the whole party of Malecontents, moſt evidently it was a terrible Conſpiracy: Gentlemen, 'tis true, it is a queſtion of blood, but 'tis Royal blood, 'tis the blood of Princes and Nobles, and it concerns the peace and ſecurity of the Kingdome, and every mans propriety, and of

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Religion, for they had left no man of conſcience or reputation behind, if they had prevailed. Conſider the Maſſacre theſe men would have committed, had they proſpered, and oppoſe that to the pretended Maſſacre, which they gave out by their Letter the Papiſts would have committed. Conſider that you have the life of the King in your hands, and I doubt not but he and the whole Kingdome ſhall alwayes be ſafe in the verdicts of honeſt men:

Sir *Robert Foſter*. My Maſters of the Jury, I cannot ſpeak long to you, you underſtand the nature of this buſineſs, ſuch as I think you have not had the like preſident in your time. My ſpeech will not give me leave to diſcourſe of it; for the Witneſſes, they are none but ſuch as may ſatisfy all honeſt men, it is clear they all agreed to ſubvert the Government, to deſtroy his Majeſty: what can you have more? two of the witneſſes are without exception, but I do not ſee any way but their teſtimony is good; for the parties, they in themſelves are very inconſiderable; theſe are but the out-boughs, and if ſuch fellows are not met withal, theſe kind of people are the fitteſt inſtrument to ſet up a *Jack-ſtraw*, and a *Wat-Tyler*, therefore you muſt lop off theſe, or elſe they will encourage others. You ſee one of their own company hath confeſſed the Fact out of remorſe of his own conſcience: But I leave the Evidence to you. Go together.

Officer was Sworn to keep the Jury.

The Jury withdrawed, and after an hours Conſultation, the Jury returned.

Silence was commanded, and *James Hind* fetcht from the Goal to the Bar.

Clerk of the Peace. Gentlemen, anſwer to your names, *Edmund Butler*, *Clement Pung*, and the reſt of the Jury before mentioned, are you all agreed of your Verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Clerk of the Peace. Who ſhall ſay for you?

Jury. The Foreman.

Clerk of the Peace. Set up *Thomas Tong* to the Barr, *Thomas Tong* hold up thy hand, look upon him Maſters, How ſay you? is he guilty of the Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *George Phillips* to the Bar, How ſay you? is he guilty of the Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury, Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *Francis Stubbs* to the Bar, How ſay you? is he guilty of the high Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him Keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *John Sallers* to the Bar, How ſay you? is he guilty of the high Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him Keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *Nathaniel Gibbs* to the Bar, How say you? is he guilty of the high Treason whereof he stands indicted, or not Guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him Keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. Hearken to your Verdict as the Court hath recorded it. You say that *Thomas Tong* is guilty of the Treason whereof he stands indicted, and so all the rest. And you say, that they, nor any of them had any Goods or Chattels, Lands or Tenements at the time of committing the said Treason, or at any time sithence to your knowledge, and this you say all.

Jury. Yes.

Clerk of the Peace. *Thomas Tong* hold up thy hand, thou hast been indicted of high Treason, thou hast thereunto pleaded not guilty, and for thy Tryal hast put thy self upon God and the Country, and the Country hath found thee guilty; what hast thou to say for thy self, why the Court should not proceed to Judgement, and thereupon award execution of thee according to the Law?

Tong. I pray mercy from the King, I cry for mercy from the King.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *George Phillips* hold up thy hand, thou art in the same case that *Thomas Tong* is, what canst thou say? &c.

Phillips kneeled down and said, I pray the mercy of the King and the Honourable Bench.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *Francis Stubbs* hold up thy hand, thou art in the same case, the two last Prisoners before thee are, what canst thou say? &c.

Stubbs. I beg mercy, I was meerly drawn in.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *John Sallers* hold up thy hand, Thou art, &c. what canst thou say? &c.

Sallers. I would intreat this Honourable Bench to consider my condition, and what my charge is; I delivered no arms, if I had known where they had been, I would have discovered them, I beg mercy from the King and this honourable Bench.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *Nashaniel Gibbs*, hold up thy hand, Thou art, &c. What canst thou say? &c.

Gibbs. And please this honourable Bench, I have something to say, *I* am innocent as to my Conscience of acting any thing treasonable against his Majesty, the Lord forgive the witnesses, *I* beg the mercy of the King.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *James Hind* hold up thy hand, Thou art guilty of the Treason whereof thou standest indicted by thy own confession, what canst thou say? &c.

Hind. I have nothing to say, but humbly beg the mercy of the King.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Cryer. O yes, my Lords, the Kings Justices command all manner of persons to keep silence while Judgement is in giving upon pain of imprisonment.

Sir *Robert Foster*. *Thomas Tong*, *George Phillips*, *Francis Stubbs*, *James Hind*, *John Saller*, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, you six Prisoners at the Bar, you have been here indicted for one of the greatest crimes that can be committed upon earth, as to this world, against God, our King, and your Country, and against every good body that is in this land for that capital

sin

ſin of high Treaſon, which is a ſin inexpiable, and indeed hath no equal ſin as to this world, upon this you have ſeverally been arraigned, and have ſeverally (except one) pleaded not guilty, and put your ſelves upon God and the Country for your tryals, and your Country have found you guilty; for the five that are found guilty, I muſt ſay, that in you I find little remorſe, little ſenſe of your ſin, for the little man there, *Hind*, he hath much ſhewed his penitency; The manner and circumſtances of this, moſt men here believe, this did not originally ariſe from your particular ſelves, it muſt be put into you by ſome others; you ſpeak as if you deſired mercy, where was your mercy, that would have deſtroyed King and Country, and maſſacred many millions of ſouls, no reſpect of any perſon, but your own Fellows? I ſpeak this, that you may be the more ſenſible of your own Crime, that you may truly out of the remorſe of conſcience, be ſorry for your ſin; you know very well the old counceł, and it is a good one, *Fear God, and honour the King, meddle not with them that are given to change.* Medling with them that are given to change, has brought too much miſchief already to this Nation; and if you will commit the ſame ſin, you muſt receive the ſame puniſhment, for happy is he that by other mens harms takes heed: I ſhall not ſpend long time with you, but if you will as much as you can, diſcover the Actors herein, you will do God, the King, and your Country good ſervice; It remains that the Court proceed to Judgement, and therefore you ſix, the one by his own confeſſion, and other five by conviction of Law: the Judgement of this Court is, That you be conveyed back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to be drawn upon an Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there you ſhall be hanged by the neck, and being alive ſhall be cut down, and your privy Members to be cut off, your Entrails to be taken out of your Body, and (you living) the ſame to be burnt before your eyes, and your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and your head and quarters to be diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the Kings Majeſty, And God have mercy upon your Souls.

FINIS.

THE CONFESSIONS, SPEECHES, and PRAYERS, OF

George Phillips, *Thomas Tonge*, *Nathaniel Gibbs*, *Francis Stubb*.

At the place of Execution, on *Monday*, Decemb. 22. 1662.

The Manner of Conveying the Priſoners to the Place of Execution; and their Behaviour there before they began to Speak.

THe 22. *Decemb. Thomas Tonge*, *George Phillips*, *Francis Stubbs* and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, were according to a late Sentence, drawn on two Hurdles, *viz. Tonge* and *Phillips* in one, and *Stubbs* and *Gibbs* in the other, to the common place of Execution at *Tyburn*: Where being come, they were received into a Cart under the Gallowes; and the Executioner deſiring themſeverally to forgive him, they all declared they did freely forgive him and all their enemies, and did ſeverally ſalute each other with this Phraſe, *Welcome*, *Brother*; and to one another ſaid, We are now lanching into the deep. They being all tied up, *Phillips* gave the Executioner a ſmall ſumme of Money, and the reſt directed the Executioner to take out of their pockets a ſmall parcel of mony, as their gift to him; and *Phillips* afterwards bended a Six-pence, and preſented it to a friend of his, Mr. *Stroud*; and a Shilling likewiſe bended to one Mr. *Clark*. Then the Under-Sheriff of *Middleſex* acquainted them, they had all free liberty to ſpeak, provided they did not reflect upon his Majeſty or the preſent Government; which they all promiſed not to do, and thanked him for his civility; and then *Phillips* began in manner following.

Friends and Country-men,

I Am come this day to pay that great debt that I owe to Nature; it is a work that had need be well done, for it is but once to be done. My hope is now above: and for what I now come to ſuffer, for my own part I bleſs God, in whoſe preſence I now ſpeak as a dying man, I had not any murderous thought againſt the King; but I have prayed for him, and wiſhed that he might Live and Reign, and long Reign in Righteouſneſs; and that God would make his Crown, a Crown of Righteouſneſs upon his Head, and bleſs him in his Government, ſo that he may not know any of theſe occaſions more: For my part, I have ventured my life for his Majeſty; it was far from my heart to do any thing of that nature; The Lord receive my ſoul. I freely forgive all men, as I hope to be forgiven of God: I never did act any thing, but onely this, which was my ignorance of the Laws, that I did not diſcover it; and I was juſtly found guilty for not diſcovering. I have done, Mr. Sheriff; but hope, after my Brethren have ſpoken, we may have liberty to call upon the Lord.

Und. Sher. It will not be denied you.

Then

Then Mr. *Tonge* began in this manner.

Friends and Country-men,

YOu see me here a dying man: I have sometimes been in some mens company, where I have heard them contriving the busines for which I am condemned to die; and that which led me to joyn with then was this, I was, and had been sometimes in the Army; and I have looked upon this Cause to be good, As for his Majesty, the Lord bless him, and prosper him, and put it into his heart, that he may be a Nursing-Father indeed to this Country.

Und. Sher. Have you any more to say? you may speak.

Tonge. I have nothing more.

And then *Gibbs* proceeded and said.

COuntrey-men and Friends, and I hope Christians, and the last consideration is that that makes me the more free to speak to you: we all profess to own God and Jesus Christ to be our Saviour, our Redeemer, our Sanctifier, and giver of, and bestower upon us Eternal Life; this should excite our Souls to love one another; and upon the account of Gods love, that God has so loved us as to give Jesus Christ, to reconcile us sinners to God, we ought to love one another, it is his great command. Truly as to the Cause for which I am brought here, God the great Judge of Heaven and Earth, before whom I stand, knows that in the place where I have lived, I behaved myself as an obedient Subject, and when there was an Insurrection by the *Fifth-Monarchy* [illegible], I went out in my own person, though I had Servants as well as others, purely out of affection to his Majesty, knowing that in the peace of his Govovernment I should have peace, and so I went out hazarded my life, and continued out till all was quiet. I was at a neighbours house drinking of a cup of Beer on Tuesday night in the Kitchin alone, save only the man of the house and the maid; these men came in, one *Hill* and *Riggs* that are the witnesses against me, there was *Riggs* and *Hills* and this *Stubbs*, and one *Beazeley*, and I being alone in the Kitchin, they asked for one *Gibbs*; the people of the house told me there were some Gentlemen would speak with me, I wished them to direct them to me, and they came to me; and through the ignorance of the Law, which it seems runs thus, If any words treasonable against his Majesty is spoken, it is Treason to conceal it; so thus I have given you in part the cause of my being here.

Hereupon information was given to the Kings Majesty, that I should say there would be a Rising, and that *Al-hollows* Eve was the time; that there were arms sent into the Countrey, and that *Ludlow* was to be General; and this was charged upon me by the Kings Majesty when I came before him to be examined: and upon *Hills* and *Rigg's* Oath, I was sent to the *Tower*, and kept a long time a Prisoner, examined three or four times over by the Lords of his Majesties Council; I have one word more, As touching my Judgement, I am reputed in the world to be one of those that is called by the name of *Anabaptist*, a name of derision and scorn, One is an *Anabaptist*, one an *Independent*, one a *Presbyterian*, one this, and one that, and one the other, who gave these nick-names to Christians? There is but one God, one Lord Jesus, one Baptism, one Hope of Glory: How comes the Body of Christ, or the Members of Christ to be called these nick-names? But now, as I am one that do profess Faith in God through the Lord Jesus Christ, and do stand before you all, and before the Lord, I know no other God, but the Eternal and Living God, that hath made the World, and that Rules and Reigns, and disposes all his Creatures; I do believe in this God, he has been gracious to me a poor sinner, and to all poor sinners, that

when

when we by reason of sin had forfeited all our mercies, and were under wrath and everlasting destruction, and must perish for ever; that God did out of his rich grace and tender mercies give his only begotten Son, according to his promise, to be the blessing of God to the poor Gentiles according as the Scripture did declare; the Scripture foreseeing that God would justifie the Heathens through faith, preached before the Gospel to *Abraham*, saying, In thee shall all the Nations of the earth be blessed: he speaks not of the natural seed of *Abraham*, but of Christ, so that all the blessings that God did convey to the sinful world is by the means of Jesus Christ, whom God in the fulness of time did send his Son born of a woman, to redeem poor sinners under the Law, and herein was the great grace and mercy of God towards all sinners, that he was so gracious to send his beloved Son out of his own bosom to take our natures upon him, who was defiled, and cursed, and condemned, and separated from God. I say, Jesus Christ took our natures upon him, and for this very end to do the will of his heavenly Father, *Lo it is written in the volume of thy book*, I come to do thy will, O God, and it was his meat and drink to do his will; and what was that, but that we might be sanctified through the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ for our sins, to tread the winepress of his Fathers wrath, and to endure the cross, and bear all our sins in his own body, that made his soul heavy unto death: he was a surety for us and our sins, and for our sakes the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all, and he hath born our grief and endured our punishment, it made his soul cry out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, or else we must for ever be banished out of the presence of God, and never have any hopes of glory, of faith, or of salvation, had not the *Son* of God become our Mediatour and Surety, so there is one God, and one Mediatour, the Man Christ Jesus. He gave himself a ransom for all our sins, to free us from the wrath to come, everlasting destruction, and from the worm that never dies. O that we could ever be thankful to God, live to him that hath so loved us, as to send his Son to die for us, and is by the almighty power of God raised from the dead, and now sits at the right hand of God, and ever lives to make intercession.

Truly friends, this is not the love of man, but the love of God, and therefore eternal love. God so loved the world; it is Gods love, he loved sinners, ungodly ones; he did so love them as to give his onely begotten Son to save them, to reconcile them, to uphold them, to redeem them from wrath to come: it was to seek and save them that were lost. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. We all like sheep had gone astray, and must perish in our sins, had not the Lord Jesus been sent of his Father, out of his bosome to declare the good will of God, and did it, by which we are sanctified through the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ; and this Lord Jesus Christ the eternal *Son* of God, he is the Mediatour between God and poor sinners. Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden sayes Christ, and I will give you rest; now this grace is from God, we are saved by grace, and that not of our selves, it is the gift of God, through faith in Christ we are saved, and all things that do pertain to life and godliness is the gift of God; now all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto him. Would you know the forgiveness of your sins, your peace with God, and that God is well pleased with you? God is reconciled by Jesus Christ unto you, and does not impute your sins unto you, but looks on the righteousness of *Christ* as satisfaction, that thereby you might have the remission of your sins through the blood of Christ. Be it known unto all men, that through this mans preaching, the forgiveness of sins, *Acts* 13. 38, 39. and by him all that do believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be by the Law of *Moses*; now justification from sin, and redemption from iniquity, is through the knowledge of Christs death for your sins, and his resurrection, and now there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be saved, but by the name of Jesus, and whosoever believeth in his name shall not perish, but have everlasting life. *Joh.* 5, 24. It is the doctrine of

Jesus

Jesus Christ, it is his word, and I hope you will search the Scriptures, and look into those things for your souls good, when Christ sayes, Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my words and believeth them, he hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death to life. The reason why God does assure poor sinners they shall not pass into everlasting condemnation and perish, is through his rich grace, through his promise; for he hath promised, he will be merciful to our iniquities, and our sins will remember no more; and these his promises of grace which are all Yea and Amen in Christ, are ratified by the blood of Christ; the blood of Christ is the blood of the New Covenant, and it is that by which we have the forgiveness, remission and cleansing of all our sins.

Undersheriff. Mr. *Gibbs*, let me interrupt you, this is very good and pertinent, but you have said these things over and over, there is another of your friends is to speak, and the time grows short, pray go on to the matter, or conclude.

Gibbs. I shall speak a word or two as to the knowledge of forgiveness of sins, by and through Jesus Christ; and so the knowledge of the Resurrection of the dead, it is the fruit of Jesus Christ; for by the first man came death, and by the second man Christ came life, and God that has by his exceeding great and mighty power, raised up Jesus Christ from the grave and power of sin, he also shall raise us up by the same power, and when he comes again the second time, at his appearing and coming, we shall see him, and be made like to him, and he will receive us to himself; he is gone to prepare a place for us, and in his Fathers house are many mansions, and if it were not so, he would have told us: and now God that hath given eternal life, and forgiveness of sins unto his poor servants, he will also, when Jesus Christ shall come to judge the world, receive him into his everlasting glory, which is my faith, expectation and hope, in God through Jesus Christ. A man may bear his infirmities, but a wounded conscience who can bear? when God smites, who can bear? and therefore I desire, as I believe the forgiveness of all my sins, through the rich grace of God, through the bloodshed of Jesus Christ his Son; every one must give account to God, and as their works are, so will their reward be; either accepted by God, as workers of Christ, or condemned, as workers of iniquity. Last of all, as to the separated Congregations to whom I belong; I have observed in those few daies that I have lived, there is a great deal of animosity, evil will, hard censuring, and abusing the precious Saints of Jesus Christ. If they are in an error, you that are in the truth instruct them, and you may recover them out of the claws of the Devil: Are you Christians and have the light of God in your souls? O then strengthen your Brethren, do not give them nick-names, and abuse them; that's not the way, Christ teaches another lesson, *That if thine enemy hunger you should feed them, and if he be a thirsty give him drink*; we should pray to the Lord that he would turn those that be out of his way, into the right way.

Undersheriff. You know we must be all subject to Government, every Congregation must not have a Ruler, their meetings are prohibited by good Authority, and because they will not be obedient to good Government.

Gibbs. I do not say, that every Congregation must have a Ruler, and I hope I speak the words of sobriety, I hope you will put a charitable construction upon what I say. As to the Magistrates I have a word or two.

Undersheriff. Speak well of them.

Gibbs. Be not afraid, I will not speak any evil of them, Magistracy is an Ordinance of God, and the end of Magistracy, is for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well; and for this purpose, I do desire that the Lord would give to the supreme Magistrate here on earth, wisdom and understanding, a wise Council, a Council fearing God, and hating covetousness, that they may study to exalt the Throne of the King in righteousness and truth; O that we may all praise the Lord for deliverance out of condemnation; and I say it is the duty of all the subjects of the Kings Majesty, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions to live peaceably, and to pray for the Kings Majesty: Pray-

ers and intercessions ought to be made for all men, especially for Kings and Governours, for this very end and purpose, that thereby we may live in all quietness, godliness, honesty and Justice; and to this very end the Lord bless our Magistracy, give them council and wisdom, that they may love them that love the Lord, and hate them that hate the Lord.

After *Gibbs* had done speaking, then *Stubbs* began, who went over all the particulars of his Tryal at large, to which for breveties sake we refer you, only saith he as followeth,

Friends and Countrey-men,

IT is true, and I must confess my sin in the presence of God, (and did ask mercy of the King) that I was in the company when I did hear wicked and treasonable words spoken, and I being ignorant, and not knowing the Law, did not discover what I did hear.

As to my Judgement, truly I desire to own what the Scriptures own; I shall speak of that place in the *Hebrews*, which is the command of Christ, *I* desire the Churches and people, every one to live the life of faith, and love one another, *I* am confident it would be a means of abundance of comfort here in the Nation; there is a kind of heart-burning and rising one against another, you are so and so, throw dirt one against the other; it is our and your duty, still to be studying to live in love, and bear with one another, not be angry, destroy, and fight one with another: O that we might live that life of love that God has commanded, then we may expect the presence of God to be with us; surely God hath a great Judgement against his own people for not loving one another.

Phillips. Mr. Sheriff, I have only one word to speak before *I* go to my Prayers; that is, Here *I* see some Gentlemen present that are in the capacity that *I* was in, as a Soldier; *I* say, be faithful to your trust, and beg of God that you may stand fast, and not dishonour God nor be disobedient to the King; when the Fifth-Monarchy men were up, *I* was free and willing to lay down my life for the interest of the Nation: and did venture it as much as any young man in *London*; Therefore good friends, have a care, *I* am now brought to suffer, it is true *I* was guilty of concealing it, *I* desire your prayers, that now as we are going to the state of eternity, from whence there is no redemption, *I* humbly beseech you, as Christians and friends, That you would seek earnestly to God that now he may receive our souls into everlasting rest and happiness, which he has been pleased to bestow on them that love him and fear him; and the Lord knows my heart, *I* speak it in his presence, that had the King been pleased to shew mercy to me, *I* should have been a faithful and true subject to him all my dayes, but seeing it is the righteous hand of God, that now *I* am come to this untimely death, *I* desire you to lift up your hearts and souls to God with me, that when my soul shall leave this body, that the Lord Jesus Christ may with his everlasting arms receive me to glory: There is no redemption after death, we shall either go to eternal woe or eternal happiness, therefore good friends, *I* desire you to look up to God, that when my soul departs, it may be received to glory.

Mr.

Mr. *Phillips* his Prayer.

O Eternal Lord God, thou that art the great Creator of Man-kind, and thou that formedſt him in the womb, hear thy poor and ſinful creature now he is coming to make his laſt approaches to thy throne. O that thou wouldſt be pleaſed to look down in mercy upon my Soul: O Lord that thou wouldſt be pleaſed now to take my ſoul and waſh it, and bathe it in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, who hath died and riſen again for me: O that now I could ſee the heavens opened, and Jeſus Chriſt ready to receive my ſoul; Be pleaſed O Lord to look upon me in thy tender mercie and compaſſion: and as thou haſt ſaid, thou doſt not delight in the death of a ſinner, therefore good Lord look down upon my poor ſoul, and receive me into the everlaſting manſions which Jeſus Chriſt is gone before to prepare for all them that love thee. O Lord we are now going, I hope, to an eſtate of happineſs, where we ſhall ſin and ſorrow no more, but where we ſhall ever reign with Jeſus Chriſt. O Lord had we not ſome hopes, had we not ſome ſight of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt made known to our ſouls, we durſt not appear before thee this day, we durſt not ſtand before thee in thy preſence: O that thou wouldeſt more and more manifeſt thy gracious preſence with me; that thou wouldſt uphold me to take this bitter cup and drink it freely. O Lord, I deſire to come unto thee; I have been a great ſinner before thee, but Jeſus Chriſt has died, is riſen, and is now at the right hand of his Father, making interceſſion for us. And good Lord, as thou haſt commanded us to come unto thee, and to believe in thee, and haſt ſaid, thou wilt in no wiſe caſt off the ſoul that comes unto thee, in confidence of that hope, I deſire to fix my ſoul upon thee before I go hence, and be no more. Bow down the heavens, O Lord, and hear the requeſt, of the poor ſoul before thee, and I beſeech thee for Chriſt his ſake, as thou wouldſt forgive me, ſo freely forgive all men that have done evil againſt me. Be pleaſed to let the Kings Majeſtie reign in righteouſneſs and holineſs; put a ſpirit of power and might in his ſoul, and let him ſee wherein the ſtability of his Crown lies, in following Righteouſneſs and Juſtice and Judgement, and preſerving of that Truth that is made known to him out of the book of the Lord. Come down, Lord, to his ſoul, and let him ſee wherein is his hope, and O that he may at laſt live and reign with Jeſus Chriſt for evermore. Good Lord look upon me, I am coming unto thee, theſe are my laſt words. O that thou wouldſt be pleaſed to receive us this day, that we may dine with thee in Paradiſe; make known thy everlaſting kindneſs to my ſoul before I go hence and be no more, that I may receive that comfort and ſatisfaction which I have longed and looked for. Lord my hope is in thee, thou wilt not fail them that put their truſt in thee, in thee is my truſt and confidence; if I periſh, I will periſh at the feet of Jeſus Chriſt. O that thou wouldſt humble me, and ſeal up the pardon of my ſins before I go hence, and let thy Son Jeſus Chriſt manifeſt his gracious preſence with me, and cloath me with that wedding garment of his righteouſneſs, and then take me into his arms, and preſent me to his Father. O that thou wouldſt be pleaſed to ſtrengthen and uphold me under this great ſtroke which thou haſt been pleaſed to inflict upon me; I kiſs the rod, and receive it thankefully from thy hand. I had been undone to all eternity, hadſt thou not afflicted me, bleſſed be thy Name, that thou haſt been pleaſed to ſend Jeſus Chriſt, upon him I depend, upon him I caſt my confidence, who is the rock of ages, and never failed any that came to him. Hear me and anſwer me, do for me and all thy Churches and people abundantly above what I can ask or think, and all for the ſake of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to whom with thy ſelf and thy holy Spirit be all honour, power, and praiſe, henceforth and for evermore, Amen.

Mr. Tong *his Prayer.*

O Moſt Glorious, and Eternal Lord God, thou that haſt created the heavens and the earth, and formedſt of duſt us thy poor creatures, to which we are now returning. Lord I beſeech thee ſpeak peace to my poor ſoul, lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and let me ſee in thee, and through faith in thy deer Son Jeſus Chriſt, that I am in covenant with

thee, and reconciled to thee. Holy Lord, I beſeech thee let me ſee thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt ſitting at thy right hand reconciling of me to thy ſelf. Let me find my ſoul waſhed in the blood of the Covenant of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. Seal a pardon to me thy poor creature; O Lord, one ſmile of thy countenance is worth all the world; bleſſed be thy Name that thou haſt ſupported me hitherto. Lord God I beſeech thee finiſh thy good work thou haſt begun in me, and go along with me, and ſtrengthen and uphold me to drink of this bitter cup. Be with me to the end. Remember the Governours of this Nation. O that thou wouldſt ſhowr down upon the King and Council thy mercies, as thou ſhowreſt down rain on the ground, that they may rule for thee, and thoſe that fear thy Name may live in happineſs and peace under thee, for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. O Lord we pray thee remember all thy people, and be good to them, and deliver them out of all their troubles, and ſpeak peace to them, and let them know thou wilt deliver them. Keep me to the end, and uphold me by thy right hand, and ſo receive me with joy for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be all honour and power henceforward and for evermore. Amen.

Mr. Gibbs his Prayer.

O Eternal, Everliving and everloving God, who art a reconciled and loving Father, unto thy poor unworthy Creatures before thee; and unto all the children, whom thou haſt called to believe in thee. O Lord, this is no ſmall priviledge that ſinful duſt and aſhes, mortal worms, ſhould have to do and to deal with ſo Holy and infinite a God, as thou art, to make requeſts unto thee, conſidering the vaſt diſproportion that there is between thee, and poor ſinners: Thou art of purer eyes then to behold any unclean thing in thy preſence, O Lord. We our ſelves are nothing but polluted rags, and fountains of uncleaneſs, from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot; all the faculties of the ſoul and members of the body, are all members of unrighteouſneſs. Were it not therefore, that thou haſt been pleaſed to give us good hopes, and found out a way to hold communion with us, which is through the Lord Jeſus; in whom thou art well pleaſed, in whom thou haſt ſpoke forgiveneſs of ſins to our ſouls, we durſt not now ſtand before thee: but thou haſt promiſed, that though our ſins are as ſcarlet, thou wilt make them as white as ſnow; and though they be as crimſon, thou wilt make them as wool. Thou haſt opened a fountain of free grace, and eternal mercy for poor ſinners; that through the blood of the Lord Jeſus, they may receive remiſſion, forgiveneſs, cleanſing and purging from all their ſinnes. Thou haſt laid an All-ſufficient help upon him, who is able to ſave to the uttermoſt, all that come to God by him. We have nothing of our ſelves to bring unto God, but ſins to pardon, and unclean ſouls to purge: Thou haſt been pleaſed to give thy Son, and together with him, freely to give us all things:

Thou

Thou haſt given thy poor ſervant before thee, faith that has brought ſalvation to his ſoul: Thou haſt ſaved him by thy free-grace; not of works, but through the mercies and blood of Jeſus Chriſt; and haſt ſprinkled the vertue of the blood of Chriſt in his conſcience, in the belief of the truth, as it is in Jeſus. O bleſſed by thy Name, that ſent him to ſeek, and to ſave us from condemnation; who is riſen with healing in his wings, and haſt ſet Chriſt before us, that we ſhould behold him that our ſins have peirced. Certainly great was that diſeaſe that needed ſuch a medicine; that nothing could expiate and take away our ſins, and blot out the hand-writing that was againſt us, but the precious blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as of a Lamb without ſpot; he is now become our peace, who has made peace for us, through the blood of that his Croſs, and has made twain, one in himſelf, Jew and Gentile. He was delivered up for our offences, and roſe again for our juſtification: We in the knowledge of him, being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: And bleſſed be thy Name, O merciful God, that has made ſuch a Covenant of everlaſting grace to poor ſinners, and the children that do believe in thee, through Jeſus Chriſt. Thou haſt ſaid, thou wilt be merciful to all our iniquities and ſins, and wilt remember them no more: Theſe are thy promiſes, and they are Yea and Amen in Chriſt Jeſus. Thou haſt made thy ſervant to hear thy voice in thy Son: Thou haſt been a merciful God to him, and forgiven him all his ſinnes, and juſtified him freely through the reſurrection of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Who ſhall condemn us, or lay any thing to our Charge? It is God that juſtifies, who gave himſelf a ranſom for our ſins, is riſen again, and now ſits at the right Hand of God, ever living and making interceſſion for us; whoſe blood ſpeaks better things than the blood of Abel: *His blood cryed for vengeance, but the blood of Chriſt cries for peace and forgiveneſs. God is in Chriſt reconciling himſelf unto the world, not imputing their treſpaſſes: He hath made him to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him. Bleſſed be thy Name, that thou haſt ſent thy holy Child Jeſus, to be the propitiation, not only for our ſins, but for the ſins of the whole world. He hath ſuffered the juſt for the unjuſt, that he might bring us unto God. O do thou therefore help thy poor ſervants before thee, and all thy children: Give us to ſee the removal of eternal death, by the death of the* Lord Jeſus. *Let us ſee thee at peace with us, and juſtifying of us, through thy grace. All have ſinned, and come ſhort of thy glory; but being juſtified through the redemption of Chriſt Jeſus, whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world. Thou haſt promiſed, that whoſoever believeth in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thy grace, thy mercy, thy love ſhall not periſh, but have everlaſting life; and thou haſt given to thy poor ſervant exceeding great and precious promiſes, and by thy own ſpirit, bringing whom theſe promiſes, given him to believe the Records thou haſt given of thy Son; which beareth witneſs, that God is reconciled to him, and well pleaſed with him in Chriſt Jeſus, and given him eternal life. And ſeeing thou haſt hid his ſoul in*

Jeſus

Jesus Christ, when he shall appear, then shall we appear with him in glory, and be made like to our Lord Jesus Christ: By the same power that thou raisest up Jesus Christ from the dead, by the same power thou art able to subdue all things. There is nothing impossible with God; what ever thou hast promised, shall be performed; Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but one title of thy word shall not fail: And therefore blessed be thy Name, that thou hast revealed these things to thy poor and unworthy Creature; that thou art his God and Father; that thou wilt never leave him, nor forsake him; and thou hast hid his life in Christ, and wrote his name in the Book of the Jesus Christ; and he rejoyceth that he knows he is his, who is the onely true God: Knows thou art well pleased with him, and justified him freely from all his sins, accepted him, in and through the Lord Jesus Christ. O therefore, dear Father, do thou receive his soul according to thy promise, that he may be thine, and thou his God. O blessed Father, do thou be pleased to do good to all thy people: And now, dear Father, take care of our families, be thou a Husband to our yoke-fellows, a Father to the fatherless: Do them good abundantly above what we are able to ask or think; and what is wanting, and lost by our removal, do thou hand out to them, thy mercy and grace, and move the hearts of the children of men, to do them good: Be thou their God, help them, and provide for them: Seal up thy loving kindness to them, not onely for this life, but for the life to come.

Do good to our Magistrates; thou who hast the hearts of all men, make such as are about them, men fearing God, and hating covetousness, that may judge for God, that he may have glory. O be pleased to let his Majesty Rule and Reign in righteousness; let his Throne be established in Righteousness, and reveal the choicest of thy blessings to His poor soul: manifest Christ Jesus, and him crucified to Him; and give Him to see the most precious blood of Christ, cleansing him from all sins. Bind up his soul in the bundle of everlasting life; Crown Him with a Crown of Righteousness, as well as with an earthly Crown: Let him be a Nursing Father, and Nursing Mother indeed, to this Nation; that He may hate the evil doer, and be a praise to them that do well. Do good to every one of us; O help us, that we may first seek the Kingdome of God. First, believe in God, and then honour our King: First, fear God and serve him, and then give to Cesar, that which is Cesars. Give unto the King, that which is the Kings; Give Him all obedience to live quietly in all godliness and honesty: And now, O Lord, do thou take away that spirit of emulation and strife, and malice; From whence comes wars? come they not from our lusts? The Lord remove pride, prejudice, and malice from us, and cause us to love one another: The Lord teach every one in their places, to walk continually, to the glory and praise of God; that we professing the name of Christians, may be enabled to walk humbly and meekly; to do good, to walk uprightly, and to love mercy, and then certainly we may expect that blessing that God hath promised to them that believe in him, which is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Mr.

Mr. *Stubb's* Prayer.

PRecious and Eternal Lord God, in thy preſence, O Lord, are we, and in the preſence of thy Son, and of thy Holy Angels, and in the preſence of this great multitude that now is beholding us poor objects, poor worms, poor duſt and aſhes; and truly Lord, we were not able to lift up our heads this day, except thou didſt come in by thy mighty Power. O Lord, help us to ſee the Heavens opened this day; and that the Arms of our Chriſt may be opened to receive our poor ſouls. O Lord, we are forbidding farewel to the world, farewel to the creature enjoyments; farewell to every thing: and now Lord *we are going home to thy dear and precious ſelf; draw forth our ſouls, and enlarge our hearts after thee, that we may be in purſuit of our God; our ſouls long for the Lord, as the Hart longs or pants after the water brooks. Lord appear in this hour; this is a great Tryal, that thy poor creatures are brought to. Now come and ſmile upon thy poor worms: O that thou wouldſt communicate thy ſelf unto us; the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon our precious ſouls, be a precious God to us, and a dear and loving Father; thou haſt not left poor ſouls in the dark, in ſuch an hour as this; O that thou wouldeſt communicate thy ſelf unto us; we are now departing and dying, good Father, we pray thee, that we may have the ſpiritual life communicated to our ſouls. Look in mercy upon every heart here in thy preſence; O that their ſouls may be ſaved in the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: thou haſt given Chriſt to die for us, whilſt creatures here; thy blood is able to waſh and make me clean; O there is no ſpot, no dye, but the blood of Jeſus is able to take it away. O Lord help us, that we may dye in the love of Jeſus Chriſt: And good Lord, we deſire that thou wouldſt look in mercy upon him that is the Officer and Executioner of theſe poor worms; and as he is to waſh his hands in our blood, O Lord waſh his ſoul in the blood of the Lamb of God. Father, thou knoweſt we deſire the good of his ſoul; we forgive him; and we deſire to forgive every one. And dear Lord, we deſire the to look upon the King, communicate the riches of thy mercy unto his* Majeſtie; *we deſire his ſoul may be ſaved; thou haſt the hearts of all Kings in thy hand, draw forth his heart, that he may love thoſe things that pleaſeth thee, and love them that thou loveſt; Let him be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs, and let Juſtice and Judgement run down the ſtreets of* England *as a mighty ſtream. We pray thee to carry forth our ſouls to pray for every Relation; beget love in all ſorts of people, that they may live the life of love, that when they depart this life, they may enjoy the bleſſed Comforter, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And, dear* Lord, *thou art pleaſed to give us a taſte of thy love this day; Lord thou haſt given us a pardon, bleſſed be thy* Majeſty *for it; thou haſt given us a reprieve for our ſouls, we are delivered from death to life, we hope when we depart this world, we ſhall enjoy thoſe bleſſed manſions to all eternity. And gracious Father, we deſire to bleſs thee, for*

that

...ce of God, and the love of Jesus Christ to poor sinners! We may see, that thou wouldst be pleased to look in mercy upon this poor Nation, O that thou would unite their hearts in love together, O that there might not be any more differences or hatred; Unite their hearts in love and obedience, that they may fear God, honour the King, that they may desire in all righteousness and holiness, to do those things that are according to thy mind and will: And gracious Father, thou canst not abide Hypocrites, the Lord cause souls to love holiness, and the power of godliness, that they may not shrowd themselves under the profession, when there is reality. Look in mercy upon all the Churches of Jesus Christ; communicate thy mercy and love to them: be pleased to be with us this day, and go along with us. O that we may bless thee with our souls, and all that is within us. Be with us, and do for us, more then we are able to ask or think, upon the account of Jesus Christ, in whom thou art well pleased, to whom be all praise and glory now and for ever, Amen.

AFter which, their Caps being severally pulled over their Faces, and after some private Ejaculations, the Executioner caused the Cart to be drawn away; and after they had hanged a while, they were severally headed and quartered according to their Sentence, and their heads and quarters conveyed in a Basket to *Newgate*, to be disposed of at the Kings pleasure.

Which he was graciously pleased thus to dispose of;

Their several Quarters to be buried, which was accordingly done on *Saturday*-night, *December* 27.

Their heads to be set on several Poles, Two on the one *Tower-Hill*, and two on the other, as neer the *Tower* as may be.

FINIS.